

SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 10 1996



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CONTENTS

<i>Janusz Dunin</i> , The Tragic Fate of Polish Libraries after 1939	page 5
<i>Armin Hetzer</i> , 'The Return from the States of the Former Soviet Union of Cultural Property Removed in the 1940s' as a Bibliographical Undertaking	13
<i>Viesturs Zanders</i> , Censorship in the Libraries of Latvia (1940–1990)	24
<i>V. D. Stel'makh</i> , Reading in the Context of Censorship	29
<i>Janet Zmroczek</i> , The Manipulation of the Polish Book Market 1944–89: A Study of the Preconditions for the Development of the Consumer-Led Market of the 1990s	48
<i>Radosław Cybulski</i> , The Book Market in Post-Communist Countries, 1989–1994, using Poland as a Specific Example	71
<i>Konstantin M. Sukhorukov</i> , The Book Market in Russia	76
<i>A. Dzhigo</i> , Russian National Bibliography: Its Present Situation	84
<i>Lidija Wagner</i> , National Bibliographies on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia with Particular Reference to Slovenian Bibliography	92
<i>G. V. Mikheeva</i> , Problemy i perspektivy retrospektivnoi bibliografii Rossii	98
<i>Christine Thomas</i> , A Survey of Printed Books in Church Slavonic in Collections Outside the Former USSR	106
<i>I. V. Pozdeeva</i> , Ranniaia kirillicheskaia kniga. Istoriko-kul'turnoe znachenie poekzempliarnogo opisaniia	131
<i>Franc Šěn</i> , Sorbian Book Printing	170
<i>June Pachuta Farris</i> , Slavic Studies Librarians in North America: Current Challenges and Future Expectations	178

Reviews

<i>R. H. Davis, Jr.</i> , <i>Slavic and Baltic Library Resources at The New York Public Library: A First History and Practical Guide</i> (Mary Stuart)	188
<i>Valeriia D. Stel'makh</i> (editor), <i>The Image of the Library: Studies and Views from Several Countries</i> (Jenny Brine)	189
<i>Murlin Croucher</i> (compiler and editor), <i>Slavic Studies: A Guide to Bibliographies, Encyclopaedias and Handbooks</i> (John S. G. Simmons)	191

N. A. Bogomolov, <i>Materialy k bibliografii russkikh literaturno-khudozhestvennykh al'manakhov i sbornikov, 1900–1937</i> , vol. 1 (Andrei Rogachevskii)	193
<i>Deutschsprachige Drucke Moskauer und Petersburger Verlage 1731–1991. Aus den Beständen der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster. Ausstellungskatalog</i> (Roger Bartlett)	194
Geoffrey Arnold (compiler), <i>Short-Title Catalogue of Hungarian Books Printed before 1851 in the British Library</i> (George Gömöri)	195
Z. Jaroszewicz-Piereslawcew, <i>Starowiercy w Polsce i ich księgi</i> (John Sullivan)	196
Notes	198
Contributors	199

Solanus is published by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES),
University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU

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SPONSORS' PAGE

This is a special double issue of *Solanus* devoted to papers from the ***ICCEES V World Congress of Central and East European Studies*** (Warsaw, 6–11 August 1995).

Publication of this issue has been made possible by the generous sponsorship of firms who were represented at the Warsaw Congress or at the pre-Congress International Librarians' Conference (Przegorzaly, Cracow, 3–5 August), namely:

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The Tragic Fate of Polish Libraries after 1939

Janusz Dunin

It is natural for books to change places. The significance of the inventions of writing, printing and the book lies in the fact that human thought—ideas and discoveries—can pass from place to place independently of their creators. Libraries, on the other hand, very often become an integral part of the place where they were established. Local communities and the institutions which the library serves take its presence for granted and do not make efforts to collect duplicate copies in other centres, so when the library ceases to exist, the gap is difficult to fill.

Throughout the history of Poland, as a result of wars, uprisings, changes of frontiers and displacements of population, there are numerous examples of the displacement and destruction of libraries. As early as the seventeenth century, during the wars between Sweden and Poland (1563–1721), books were carried away from our country. Paradoxically, these parts of Polish library collections are the best preserved; for example, those books which were taken from the collection of King Sigismund Augustus are to be found in the Royal Library in Stockholm and the university libraries of Uppsala and Lund.¹ During the reign of Catherine II, the Russians confiscated a number of Polish libraries, including the collection of the Załuski brothers, which had been opened to the public in 1747. After the loss of Polish independence in 1795, Polish national collections began to be built abroad. On the initiative of Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1826) collections were formed in Vienna in 1817 (transferred to Lviv in 1827), in France at Batignolles and in Switzerland at Rapperswil as part of the Polish National Museum, founded in 1870. In 1927, Poland having regained independence in 1918, the collections from Rapperswil were transferred to the National Library in Warsaw but later, like other collections, they were almost completely destroyed in the Second World War.

The disintegration and destruction of Polish libraries and book collections during the Second World War and afterwards occurred in a number of different ways. In the period 1939–45 the most important factor was the policy towards Polish culture adopted by the German administration.

The Germans, having handed over more than half of the territory of Poland to the USSR in 1939, divided the rest of the country into two parts. One part, i.e. Western Poland (Pomerania, Masuria, Poznań province and Silesia), was considered to be an integral part of the Third Reich. Here the Polish population began to be eliminated by successive displacements and by the introduc-

¹ See Aleksander Birkenmajer, 'Książka O. Waldiego o szwedzkich zdobyczach bibliotecznych', *Eklibris* (Cracow, Lviv), 1924, no. 5, pp. 65–75.

tion of new settlers, for example, people from the Baltic provinces and from Volhynia who considered themselves to be Germans. The German authorities were particularly at pains to eliminate those Poles who were most awake to the national cause and most active—the intelligentsia, the gentry and all kinds of social activists. For the time being, the majority of the inhabitants were left there to operate local municipal services and industry, but they were almost entirely deprived of access not only to libraries but also to the Polish press, books and schools. Book collections left behind by those who had been deported were destroyed, as were public libraries and collections owned by public societies and schools. For example, books from the Kalisz Public Library were used to fill up a storm sewer. Books from some other libraries, such as the Public Library in Łódź, were removed to warehouses, where they were often stolen, damaged or abandoned to await their fate. Some were found there after the war. Collections of scientific books, for instance, university library collections, were usually left untouched, as they were intended to be used in the process of Germanization.

The other part of divided Poland (central Poland, including Warsaw, Cracow and Lublin) formed the so-called 'German-occupied Poland', intended to be a permanent colony without self-government and to provide a cheap labour force. It follows that the Polish intelligentsia was to be exterminated and that everything which could lead to its regeneration had to be eliminated. All Polish schools, except those which provided elementary and vocational education to train workers, were closed. The press, book publishing and theatres were tolerated only as long as they catered for the lowest of tastes. Some initiatives were aimed at the psychological disarmament of Polish communities. Propaganda was printed, such as anti-semitic pamphlets, prophecies of the inevitable German victory or invented news from the war fronts. These publications were called by the Poles 'the reptile press' (*prasa gadzinowa*). For a short time, between 1939 and 1942, public libraries were permitted to function but only on a limited scale.² Later only controlled libraries, with paid membership, were allowed, and only second-hand bookshops could operate. On the whole, libraries were not accessible to the Polish population and many of them, especially the smaller ones, were destroyed.

There was, however, some degree of conflict in German cultural policy. The German occupiers, showing that respect for tradition and for libraries, especially scientific libraries, which is a characteristic of their nation, were fully aware of the importance and material value of Polish library collections. In the

² For information about the closure of the Warsaw Public Library, see *Walka o dobra kultury. Warszawa 1939–1945. Księga zbiorowa pod redakcją Stanisława Lorentza* (Warsaw, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), t. 1, p. 375. See also Ryszard Przelaskowski, 'Wspomnienia o pracy w Bibliotece Publicznej m. st. Warszawy w okresie drugiej wojny światowej'. In *Walka o dobra . . .*, pp. 368–97.

early stages of the occupation there were two competing plans for dealing with them. The first plan is identified with the work of the 'Kommando Paulsen',³ a section connected with the RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt), the Chief Security Office of the Reich. This plan proposed the immediate and absolute removal of all valuable library and museum collections to Germany. During the time of the Kommando's activity, from October to December 1939, the transport of Polish library collections had already begun and further transports were being prepared.

However, the Nazi administration of the so-called German-occupied Poland (Generalgouvernement) with its Governor-in-Chief Hans Frank (1900–46) were opposed to this plan. In their view, it reduced the value of the property under their administration. It was argued that future German administrations of the territory would need library collections as information resources; that they would be useful to the German universities and schools which would be established there and could be of help in the Germanization of these lands.

This latter point of view was victorious and, not waiting for the final outcome of the war, a reorganisation of library collections was begun, based on a far-reaching German plan. 'State libraries' (Staatsbibliotheken) were established in Cracow, Warsaw and Lublin, and their collections were divided into three sections: foreign literature, polonica, and special collections.⁴ Some librarians were sent from the Reich to control operations. Among them were Gustav Abb (1886–1945), the former director of Berlin University Library, who was appointed as head of the administration of libraries in the Office of the Governor-General, and Wilhelm Witte, who before the war had been head of the Slavonic Department in the University of Wrocław (then Breslau) and who now became Abb's representative in Warsaw and Director of the Warsaw Staatsbibliothek. Under their supervision and under war conditions, scientific library collections were reorganised. Polish specialists were also engaged for this work and they participated in the transfer of some parts of collections. For Polish librarians this solution was obviously preferable. It meant that Polish scientific books remained on Polish territory until the end of the war and it enabled them to take care of the collections. Some of the occupiers' harmful decisions could be boycotted. For instance, although it was forbidden, books were lent, on a limited scale, to Polish scholars and researchers. Those librar-

³ Named after the archeologist Peter Paulsen who, during the first months of the war, organised the removal of library and museum collections which were considered to be of German origin. This operation was connected with the Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft 'Ahnenerbe' of the SS. See Andrzej Mężynski, *Kommando Paulsen. Październik—grudzień 1939 r.* (Warsaw, 1994). 92 pp.

⁴ Much has been written about this reorganisation. See, for example: Wanda Sokołowska, '“Staatsbibliothek Warschau”. 27.VII.1940–31.VII.1944', in: *Walka o dobra* (note 2), pp. 285–318; Andrzej Mężynski, 'Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie. Fakty i mity', in: *Symposia Bibliologica* (Warsaw, 1995), pp. 93–123.

ians employed by the Germans enjoyed relatively good relations with their German colleagues; the Poles were given certificates of legal employment and they were paid for their work. The new German library administration even began to buy books and manuscripts.⁵ In his postwar depositions, Witte stated that he had been well aware of some of the illicit activities of his Polish employees, but had pretended not to notice so as to avoid conflict.⁶ Professor Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, in her recollections from the time of the Warsaw Uprising, says that Witte was weeping as he watched Warsaw being destroyed by fire.⁷

During the last stage of war operations on the territory of Poland, especially at the time of the Warsaw Uprising, many buildings were destroyed by fire and many of the books in them perished. Some buildings were set on fire on purpose by the German fire-squads, the Brandkommando. The Załuski Library,⁸ the library of the Krasiński estate,⁹ the Central Military Library, the book-stacks of the Warsaw Public Library and hundreds of other libraries, big and small, private and public, were destroyed in the fires. Again, the Nazi authorities showed that they were not indifferent to the fate of works of art. After the failure of the Warsaw Uprising, when all inhabitants were being driven out of the city and Warsaw was about to be razed to the ground, the authorities allowed some special groups of Poles to enter the city in order to take away some works of art from museums and libraries.

Later war action caused further library losses both on the former territories of Poland and on the territory given to Poland in compensation for lands lost in the East. Soldiers on both sides thoughtlessly destroyed great numbers of books and disorganised postwar life allowed for more plundering. At a time of flights, evacuations and displacements of the Polish gentry and the German population, their book collections, especially valuable items, were stolen and often destroyed. People whose estates were expropriated tried to save some of their books. It is not known how many books left Poland and how many were hidden somewhere on its territory. Research workers whose task was to estimate library losses on Polish territory reported: 'There are grounds to assume that losses in school and public library collections can be estimated at ninety per cent, in private and specialised collections at seventy to eighty per cent, and in scientific library collections at about fifty-five per cent. It must be

⁵ See Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Ochrona zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej', in: *Walka o dobra* (note 2), pp. 179–242, p. 210–211; Sokołowska (note 4), pp. 299–301; Mężynski, 'Biblioteki . . .' (note 4), pp. 109–110.

⁶ Kawecka-Gryczowa (note 5) and Sokołowska (note 4).

⁷ Kawecka-Gryczowa (note 5), p. 224.

⁸ The greater part of the Załuski collections (taken to Russia in 1795) were returned to Poland as a result of the Soviet–Polish treaty of 1921, and became part of the National Library in Warsaw.

⁹ The Krasiński Library, founded in 1844 and destroyed in 1944, is described in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce* (Wrocław, 1971), cols. 218, 9.

added that the losses, especially from the last-mentioned collections, were of a selective character. It was the most valuable works that were missing.’¹⁰

I am sceptical about these estimates and consider that the figures are not fully reliable. As well as acts of vandalism, there were also actions taken by Poles to protect the Polish books which had always been regarded as a national treasure. After the war, a great number of books bearing the bookplates of collections which had officially been acknowledged as lost were found, and it became possible to partially reconstruct those collections. In Poland there are people who think that losses are underestimated and those who think that they are overestimated. It is an impossible task to count books that are no more. However, nobody can deny that the losses of Polish books and libraries were enormous and painful—the more so because they affected a country which, in spite of many efforts, had not yet been able to make up during some twenty years of independence for all the neglect of more than a century of bondage.¹¹

Very little has been said up until now about losses of books on the former Eastern territory of Poland; for these losses too the Nazi regime must bear its share of responsibility. In 1939 on the basis of the Ribbentrop–Molotov treaty, a large part of Polish territory had been handed over to the Soviet Union, which promptly began the process of stalinization. Polish books suffered discrimination because they were ideologically alien and because of the policy of de-polonization in these lands. In 1941 the Germans began a long war of extermination on that territory and books were not spared in that war either. After the war, as a consequence of the Treaty of Yalta, that part of Poland remained within the Soviet Union. The Polish population, especially the intelligentsia, was rapidly displaced, and managed to take away only a small part of their book collections. The only library collection to be officially ‘repatriated’ was a considerable part of the aforementioned Ossoliński Foundation, brought back from Lviv to Wrocław. Other Polish library collections in the USSR were subject to a number of reorganisations and closures, and for nearly fifty years they were inaccessible to the Polish population.

The agrarian reform carried out after the war was an additional destructive factor. The reform deprived the Polish landed aristocracy not only of their lands but of a great part of their moveable property. Manorial library collections, sometimes very valuable ones, were officially taken over by the state and

¹⁰ Cited from a four-page summary handed out at the conference ‘Skutki II wojny światowej dla bibliotek polskich’, organised by the Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne and held at the National Library in Warsaw, 7–8 November 1994, published in *Symposia bibliologica* (Warsaw, 1995).

¹¹ The most comprehensive survey of Polish library collections lost during the Second World War is: Barbara Bienkowska’s *Straty bibliotek polskich w czasie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 1994), and her *Straty bibliotek w czasie II wojny światowej w granicach Polski z 1945 roku*. Cz. 1. Analiza. Cz. II. Tablice. Cz. III. Bibliografia. Opracowała Urszula Paszkiewicz (Warsaw, 1994). Urszula Paszkiewicz’s bibliography (which includes material published up to 1993) lists 908 items. An abridged version in English is: *Losses of Polish Libraries during World War II* (Warsaw, 1994).

then left to be plundered or, quite often, destroyed.

Thus, the reduced territory of post-war Poland also had at its disposal greatly reduced library resources. In Silesia, Pomerania and Masuria which, following the Yalta agreements, became part of Poland, and on the territories which had been annexed to the Reich by the German occupiers, numerous German library collections remained. Those collections included not only popular trashy literature propagating Nazi ideology, collected mainly in schools, public libraries or private home collections, but also a great deal of old literature in various languages, found in collections of the German aristocracy and in other collections brought from various parts of Germany and hidden, in the hope that they would suffer less war damage. Among those great quantities of books left without any protection were the the collection of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek and collections brought from Königsberg. Despite clear orders given by the Russian and Polish military authorities and declarations that works of art would be protected, these collections were plundered and their fate was tragic.

Ksawery Świerkowski described the situation in his report of October 1945, 'The security of manorial and former German library collections and the question of their use'.¹² He complained about contradictions as to who had authority to decide this issue and reported that out of forty-one estates which had been investigated 'only in seventeen of those estates had library collections or their remnants been found. In the remaining estates the collections had been either stolen or destroyed.'¹³ Both existing libraries and District School Boards were made responsible for the protection of books, and storage centres were established. Usually, these centres were supervised by people of good will, but without professional qualifications. The notion of a 'collection' was unknown. Books were hived off, at a rate of one to two tons a day, and receipts were made out according to their weight, on the basis that one ton equalled 1700 volumes.¹⁴ For example, at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946, 989.61 tons of books, maps and music scores were brought to Cracow. It was estimated that the load contained about 1,700,000 items.¹⁵ Passages from surviving records show how difficult it was to work in those days and how inadequately qualified were the people who did the work.¹⁶ They thought in terms of volumes, kilogrammes and tons of printed materials, and only very

¹² Ksawery Świerkowski, 'Zabezpieczanie księgozbiorów poniemieckich i podworskich oraz sprawa ich zużytkowania'. In: *Aktualne zagadnienia bibliotekarskie. Piersza Powojenna Konferencja Okresowych Wizytatorów Bibliotek w dniach 24–27 października 1945 r. w Pabianicach* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 25–32.

¹³ Świerkowski (note 11), p. 27.

^{14, 15, 16} This information is taken from photocopies (in the possession of the author) of reports made by the officials responsible for transporting books in 1945–7.

few receipts with exact figures have been preserved. Not surprisingly, no information about the transport of library collections to the Soviet Union or their destruction by the Soviet Army has been published.

On the basis of new legislation promulgated in 1949, books which had formerly belonged to Germans or the former landed aristocracy became the property of the state.¹⁷ Only recently have researchers begun to study the history of those library collections. For example, Janusz Tondel has been engaged in research into the remains of German collections now in the Copernicus University Library in Toruń (which was established after the war).¹⁸ Michał Kuna, who died recently, tried to trace the history of the collection in Ploty (Schloss Plate).¹⁹ A considerable part of that collection has been incorporated into Łódź University Library. The Division for the Documentation of Historical Book Collections, established on the initiative of the Polish Bibliological Society, has also gathered quite a large quantity of material,²⁰ but there remains much work to be done.

After the war Polish librarians made some attempts to reconstruct old Polish libraries and to reverse all actions of the Nazi administration. A search was carried out in Germany and Austria for former Polish collections²¹ and some were restored to their owners. Other incomplete collections were used either to supplement the collections of surviving libraries or to help in the establishment of new libraries. Polish scholars were rightly convinced that the collections left on territory given to Poland after the war were the legal property of Poland, although they by no means compensated for the great losses sustained by Polish culture. In 1945 the Polish intellectuals Waław Borowy,²² Władysław Tatarkiewicz²³ and Witold Suchodolski²⁴ wrote about the Poles' moral right to compensation. However, the issue of war reparations for Poland was later taken over by the Soviet Union; thereafter discussion of the topic

¹⁷ 'Ustawa z dn. 6 maja 1949 o majątkach opuszczonych i porzuconych', *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, nr. 17, poz. 97; 'Zarządzenie Ministerstwa Oświaty z dn. 4 sierpnia 1945 r. w sprawie zabezpieczenia i użytkowania księgozbiorów opuszczonych lub porzuconych', *Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Oświaty*, nr. 4, poz. 115.

¹⁸ Janusz Tondel, *Biblioteka zamkowa (1529–1568) Księcia Albrechta Pruskiego w Królewcu* (Toruń, 1992); and his *Srebrna Biblioteka Księcia Albrechta Pruskiego i jego żony Marii* (Warsaw, 1994).

¹⁹ Michał Kuna collected information about the history of German book collections in Łódź University Library, but died in 1994 before he was able to complete his work.

²⁰ This information is to be found in a card catalogue of book collections in Poland (existing and destroyed) maintained in the National Library in Warsaw. There are plans to publish it when it is complete.

²¹ See Bohdan T. Urbanowicz, 'Dziennik Fischhornu', in: *Walka o dobra* (note 2), pp. 335–84.

²² Waław Borowy, *Tezy ogólne w sprawie rewindykacji i odszkodowań z zakresu kultury i sztuki* (Warsaw, 1945), p. 20.

²³ Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *Etyczne podstawy rewindykacji i odszkodowań* (Warsaw, 1945), p. 24.

²⁴ Witold Suchodolski, *Zagadnienie prymatu strat kulturalnych w ogólnym programie odszkodowań* (Warsaw, 1945), p. 8.

was forbidden in Poland and the Poles were unable to influence the course of events.

In 1965, as part of the programme of building up friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic, some Polish libraries took part in an exercise called by the Germans Ru-Be-Pol (Rückführung der Bestände aus Polen) and sent back to Germany those parts of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek collections which had not been incorporated into any Polish library collections.²⁵ They looked upon this not as restitution but rather as a gift, an act aimed at restoring cooperation between Polish and German libraries.

For half a century Poland has been trying to build from scattered Polish and German collections a new network of libraries. In Germany too libraries tried to rebuild their collections, to fill gaps and to create, as far as possible, coherent collections from existing materials. To remove books now in order to restore them to their original locations would only create a new tragedy. At present there are opposing views in Poland on the subject of restitution. One is that all matters connected with a war which ended half a century ago should be marked off with a thick dividing line. It is argued that in great libraries and museums all over the world there are many objects, the acquisition of which could be seen as legally or morally dubious, and that to bring up past history can only endanger international relations. Furthermore, attempts to claim back property can result in collections being concealed. International cultural cooperation is more important; making collections and information about them mutually accessible is the best hope for knowledge and scholarship. The opposite and more fundamentalist point of view argues that, irrespective of tactical reasons, accounts have to be settled and compensation for losses and damage should be sought.

Personally, I would support the first point of view, provided that no-one is deprived of the right to claim for damages and that the countries concerned are able to discuss these problems freely. Some parts of collections which are not of much use in one place could be transferred to other places where they would be valued. Undoubtedly, there are objects of national reverence which lose their significance when separated from the nation which created them. In Poland, Germany and Ukraine there are book collections and individual books that would be worth discussing. However, such discussions could give rise to new conflicts if they were conducted under political, economic or some other kind of pressure exerted by the partner who is in the stronger position at any given moment.

²⁵ Werner Schochow, 'Von der Kriegs- und Nachkriegsschicksalen der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek', *Mitteilungen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Neue Folge, 3 (1994), nr 1, p. 3; Janusz Dunin, 'Łódzki ślad pruskiego skarbu—Losy książek', *Verte* (dodatek do *Gazety Łódzkiej*), nr 34 (30.12.1994).

‘The Return from the States of the Former Soviet Union of Cultural Property Removed in the 1940s’ as a Bibliographical Undertaking

Armin Hetzer

1. Safekeeping as a Trap

With the attacks by the Luftwaffe on Warsaw and Belgrade, the German armed forces went down in the history of war as the inventors of terrorist air attacks against civilian populations. By 1942 it was already clear that the Western Allies were capable of attacking German cities much more heavily. As a result, measures were initiated according to a general plan to protect artistic and cultural property from the bombing. This was generally done by first listing the objects concerned, then storing them initially in basements and later in nearby air-raid shelters or mine tunnels. Packing lists were added to the boxes by staff of the institutions to indicate the contents, and duplicates of these were retained by their administrations as proof of the removal of their holdings.

It should be kept in mind that the activity of libraries and museums was, within certain limits, carried on even during wartime. Air-raid warnings, it is true, interrupted opening hours, but in general an appearance of normality was maintained. Anything else could have been interpreted as sedition and scaremongering, for which the penalties in the Nazi period were draconian. There are reliable records for the usage of the Bremen State Library in 1939–1945. During the war years the usage and lending of a stock of around 300,000 volumes was as follows:¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Users</i>	<i>Volumes loaned</i>
1939/40	36,491	39,783
1940/41	38,298	46,974
1941/42	38,892	48,856
1942/43	27,474	44,518
1943/44	24,773	43,765
1944/45	9,765	17,092

For numbers both of users and of volumes borrowed there was a clear high point in 1941/42, followed by a fairly steep falling-off. There were 1233 air-

¹ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatsbibliothek Bremen*, hrsg. von Dr Hans Wegener (Bremen, Schünemann, 1952), p. 197.

raid warnings during the wartime period, and 173 air raids on Bremen. The first fire in the roof occurred in May 1941, but the eagerness to read was obviously not quenched.

The most important treasures had been given some protection at the outbreak of war, to the extent of being removed from the main stacks to the library basement. Later the special collection on Bremen (c. 12,000 volumes) was moved from Bremen to the nearby town of Rotenburg/Wümme, where it was placed in hospital basements. In July 1943 the most valuable manuscripts were removed from the safe-room of the Bremen land registry office and transferred to the castle at Wernigerode, where they were placed in a safe in the cellar. The large-scale evacuation of books began in the autumn of 1942. Altogether, 1492 boxes containing books and the Bremen collection of pictures were transported to Bernburg/Saale (now in Saxony-Anhalt). There they were stored in the Kali mine belonging to the company Wintershall AG. Other smaller sections of the library were taken to Grasleben near Helmstedt, where there was also a mine. In all, about half of the Bremen collections—that is, 150,000 volumes—had been dispersed by the end of the war. Since the State Library escaped any direct hits, its losses as a direct result of hostilities were quite limited. Looking back, it can be seen that dispersal on such a scale was not really necessary: by 1950, when the library was again regularly open to the public, it would have been able to make available almost its entire holdings. However, its greatest losses were suffered as a consequence of the dispersal itself, for some 100,000 volumes did not return from Bernburg.

I have quoted the Bremen State Library's figures for usage and dispersal because they were easily accessible, and also because I believe them to be, within certain limits, more generally characteristic. It is true that Hamburg lost a substantial part of its treasures in the great firestorm of July 1943 because they had not been dispersed. The Frankfurt City Library suffered a great misfortune when the train containing the holdings ready for dispersal was bombed. But these were striking though exceptional cases, and it can in general be said that at the end of the war no library should have needed to start again from scratch. The losses through confiscation after the cessation of hostilities exceeded several times those caused by the war itself. It is estimated that the Russians carried away something in the region of 5.5 million volumes.

2. Evaluation of the Losses

Speedy action enabled the holdings which Bremen had dispersed to Rotenburg/Wümme, Grasleben/Helmstedt and Wernigerode to be brought back in 1945. This meant that those 50,000 volumes of particular value for local and regional history were not lost but were available again after the war. This was not the case with all libraries. For example, the Lübeck City Library and the Prussian State Library evacuated considerable holdings to Bernburg/Saale,

which for decades had to be regarded as lost. Lübeck and the Saxon State Library in Dresden lost almost their entire collections of incunabula, which numbered thousands. Bremen lost its picture collection, although that was chiefly the property of the Kunstverein: the Bremen Kunsthalle, like the equivalent institution in Hamburg, is not state-owned but a corporate body under public law.

It will be seen from this that to some extent state, semi-state and private owners had their collections stored in the same place, and that the value of those holdings varied greatly. This is causing difficulties at the present time, when the return of German cultural property is on the agenda, because many different interests have to be reconciled. Bernburg/Saale was probably the dispersal location from which the greatest amount of library and museum property from North Germany and Brandenburg was removed to the USSR. The Americans, however, were there before the Russians arrived, and they too had their requisition specialists. It is a mistake, therefore, to assume that all goods removed as war booty in 1945 by the victorious powers necessarily found its way to Russia or the CIS.

3. Losses Through Unsuitable Handling

The so-called Trophy Commission, set up by the Soviet authorities, confiscated cultural property in unimaginable quantities. It was not only the evacuated material which was affected: some confiscations were carried out even in 1946 and 1947 in the territory of the Soviet zone of occupation. The castle library of Meiningen in Thuringia, packed in crates, was removed by the Russians after the end of the war. The same happened in Gotha, which is still waiting for the return of some of its book treasures.

There is evidence that the dispersed collections were still unharmed in their boxes at the war's end. The Wintershall firm, for example, informed the Bremen owners to that effect. However, the firm no longer had any authority over what had been placed on its premises for safe-keeping. Instead of simply transporting away the boxes of books unopened, the Russians (following the Americans' bad example) appear to have opened up and inspected the collections on the spot. From reports of the books' removal, it seems that they were loaded like sugar-beet or cabbages. They were carried away in snow and rain, in open-topped railway trucks, so that a proportion of the 'trophies' must have been damaged or even totally destroyed in transit.

Only now, through access to Russian archives, has it become possible to describe in detail the seizure of the 'trophies', their transportation to collecting centres in the former Soviet Union and their subsequent distribution to Soviet libraries. Here I will limit myself to mentioning the extensive article by Ingo

Kolasa,² who has for some years devoted most of his attention to the restitution question and hence is qualified to elucidate this chapter in German–Soviet relations without undue emotion. Since 1990 the question preoccupying both German and Russian public opinion has not been how the books originally went east, but whether and under what conditions they should be *restored* to their former owners, who have never relinquished their claim to ownership;³ but this subject is surrounded by strong emotions.

4. The Problem of Reciprocity

A month before writing this, I received from St Petersburg a letter from a Russian woman who wrote, among other things, in connection with the ‘trophy’ books:

But why did no-one speak about this earlier? It is only now, when Russia is weak and turning itself into chaos and carnage, that everyone wants to take something from us. What difference does it make *where* something belonging to the world, that is to world civilisation, is preserved? On the contrary, many people have now been able to see the Impressionist paintings in the Hermitage.

This letter moved me because it was the voice of the people, not of some apparatchik. Nevertheless, it contains some typical errors. Firstly, there is the legal aspect. If the Soviet government signed an international agreement, then the Russian government is bound by such undertakings. Secondly, no discussion of restitution was possible earlier because for some forty years the Soviet government had not even admitted the existence of ‘trophies’. Hence the Russian public has been unable to view the collection of Impressionists until 1995: previously the pictures had been concealed somewhere in the storerooms. Similar treatment was given to those books which did not circulate for research purposes, i.e. were not made available to readers.

I cannot deal fully here with the legal aspect of restitution,⁴ but will only indicate the basic problems. In the German–Soviet agreement of 1990, mention is made of the reciprocal return of displaced cultural property. A problem of interpretation arises with the very word ‘reciprocal’. The Nazis, of course, pillaged cultural property in all the territories they occupied. However,

² Ingo Kolasa, ‘Sag mir, wo die Bücher sind. ... Ein Beitrag zu “Beutekulturgütern” und “Trophäenkommissionen”’, *Zeitschrift für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen (ZfBB)*, 42 (4), 1995, pp. 339–364.

³ Hartmut Petersohn, ‘Retten, was noch zu haben ist. Hunderttausende von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken als “Beutegut” in Russland’, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7.7.1995.

⁴ For a fuller treatment, see W. Kowalski, *Restytucja dzieł sztuki. Studium z dziedziny prawa międzynarodowego*. Wyd drugie, Prace naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, 1388 (Katowice, Uniwersytet Śląski, 1993). 164 pp.

immediately after the end of hostilities the Americans⁵ in the west and the Red Army in the east took control of the stores containing such property. Records of their inspections are in existence, and are now the principal source of our knowledge about the transfers. The Americans listed the items and returned to the Soviet side those which had clearly come from the Soviet Union. I make no accusations of theft here against anyone, but the fact remains that these valuable goods were not returned to their former owners. So far as the eastern side is concerned, the trophies were concentrated in the north-western part of the present Russian Federation, whence they were in part distributed to other areas of the Soviet Union. Thus there was practically nothing left in Germany which we could now hand over in return for the 5.5 million books which were taken out of Germany in 1945–1947. It is true that there is still a limited amount of such cultural property in private hands, but everything in the publicly owned libraries of the Soviet Zone was inspected by the Soviet authorities. They removed not only the property which the Germans had previously looted from Eastern Europe, but—in addition—that which had been dispersed from towns in the western part of Germany to mines or other places of safety located on the territory of the former Soviet Zone. This is the problem of restitution which we are now discussing, since the problems of restitution affecting art objects would need to be considered separately.

5. The Problem of Usage and Availability

The 'trophy' books fulfilled a threefold function. A part of them consisted of trophies in the stricter sense, for example the Gutenberg Bible now held in the Russian State Library (formerly the Lenin Library). Such books are not put to use for practical purposes: they are simply objects of beauty. Another part was to compensate for the losses suffered by Soviet libraries; but a third part consisted of books which had never been in the Soviet Union before the war. Many Western books had never reached the Soviet Union before the war because of a shortage of money to buy them. Soviet science and scholarship were therefore in need of the latest publications, while books and journals of value for research were to be found in German libraries. Now, paradoxically, fifty years later no-one has a specific interest in these books because they fall within the field of the exact sciences, and such works rapidly become outdated. By my reckoning, out of the 5.5 million books removed in the aftermath of the

⁵ Russians often ask in conversation why the Germans do not demand restitution from their Western allies. The fact is that dispersal westwards did not reach the same proportions as the Soviet accumulation of trophies. It is true that there are some small collections in American libraries which reached the USA as a consequence of the Second World War. For example, in 1985 I was shown archival materials in the Library of Congress which the Americans wanted to return to their former owners. In general it can be said that the Western allies chose their 'trophies' with taste and intelligence, and that this was true above all of art objects. The Soviet authorities removed practically everything which fell into their hands, pictures as much as books.

Second World War, barely one million are still of interest for either of the following reasons: they were printed before the end of the eighteenth century; or they form part of special collections connected with a particular person or place. One such collection, for example, is that of prints of the Hanseatic city of Bremen, a part of which is held in the Russian National Library (formerly the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library).⁶

The Soviet side must stand accused of the following: firstly, no concern was shown for the former owners of the property, even if they were to be found on Soviet territory. For instance, the Russian State Library holds books from the city library of Riga which arrived in Moscow as trophies from Germany. It would not have been difficult to return them to their previous owner, by then entitled the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR. Secondly, journals and multi-volume works were treated quite senselessly. They were distributed to different libraries, even different republics, in such a way that one volume may now be held in, say, Erevan, a second in Ufa, a third in Tomsk and a fourth in Vilnius. The third accusation I have mentioned earlier: a part of the confiscated books was never circulated within the scholarly community at all, and those which *were* made available to readers were often subject to severe restrictions. All these accusations reflect common features of the Soviet regime, and one might suppose that by now the situation had changed. From my own observations, however, little seems to have altered for the ordinary reader. Up to the present time Russian libraries are still subject to a regime inconceivable to someone accustomed to Western practice. This has a bearing on the argument that cultural property belongs to world civilisation. Where a particular book is held *does* make a difference—whether it is in Great Britain, in Italy or in Russia. The difference begins with the regulations applying to its use and ends with the question of whether a page may be photocopied or microfilmed. If the director-general of a library which employs over 2000 staff must personally give a decision on the microfilming of a particular nineteenth-century text, then the conditions of use in Western and Russian libraries are incommensurable.

6. Time Works Against Restitution

Discussions between the West German and Soviet authorities on the return of 'trophy' materials were conducted over a very long period. One of the topics in question was the return of those sections of the Tallinn city archives which

⁶ On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Russian National Library, an article appeared which was very hostile in tone, criticising in particular the unsuitable storage of trophy holdings in St Petersburg libraries (the Russian National Library, the Academy of Sciences Library and the University Library): Iris Radisch, 'Krankheit Buch', *Die Zeit*, 1995 (34), 18.8.95, p. 37. The facts stated there can hardly be contested, since they are founded on personal inspection, but the writer's interpretation of what she saw requires correction: dark corners containing unprocessed books can probably be found in every large European library.

had been removed from the Baltic area by German forces towards the end of the war. Parallel discussions were carried on between the GDR and the FRG. Beginning in 1987, some archival materials were returned (including some manuscript books) from Potsdam, East Berlin and Moscow. Under Gorbachev not only was the return organised in 1990 of trophy materials within the holdings of the Main Archival Administration in Moscow, but by 1991 restitution of other materials was being arranged on a bilateral basis between individual libraries. Thus Hamburg received back 3000 music manuscripts from Leningrad. In the light of the changes in the political situation after August 1991, a Russo-German conference of experts took place in Bremen in the autumn of 1992.⁷ There the Russians began to speak officially of 'removed' instead of 'trophy' books, and of 'restitution' instead of 'return'. On the German side there was also a change of line, in that all activity was now to be coordinated by a commission of experts headed by the Director-General of the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main, Professor Lehmann. In the interests of all concerned, individual localities or libraries may not now act independently. All agreements must be settled by ministers. Hence the whole process on both sides, Russian and German, has become sluggish and is playing into the hands of the antiquarian book trade, since the latter is now dealing in trophy books on a large scale. Three specific examples may be offered.

A student of Slavistics excitedly faxed the State and University Library in Bremen to say that he had bought a large number of books containing our library stamp in Moscow second-hand bookshops. He asked to have his outlay refunded, a matter of about DM 1000. The books were placed in the safe-keeping of the German Embassy and the money was transmitted to the young man. It is likely that he was concerned only to cover his own expenses, and to that extent this was simply an instance of good citizenship; but it is a fact that the contents of the 'reserves' in Russian libraries are held in conditions which are not proof against theft. In a time of social Darwinism, one may well empathize with members of library staff who take advantage of any opportunity to finance their day-to-day survival, but this means that haste is needed: otherwise, when the political negotiations are concluded, there will be nothing left to exchange. The Russian side is therefore urged to take steps for the safeguarding of its trophy books.

The second case concerns a Cologne second-hand bookseller who offered our library 57 of our own books from Russian libraries for US \$ 30,000. When the library threatened legal action the dealer retreated and claimed that the

⁷ The negotiations were conducted in several cities. The proceedings of the Round Table held in Moscow in December 1992 were published in German as *Restitution von Bibliotheksgut. Runder Tisch deutscher und russischer Bibliothekare in Moskau am 11. und 12. Dezember 1992*, hrsg. von Klaus-Dieter Lehmann und Ingo Kolasa (Frankfurt am Main, Klostermann, 1993). 154 pp. (ZfBB, Sonderheft 56).

books were not on German soil. He alleged that he had been acting only as a credulous go-between and that the Russian side was responsible for the price asked. There are suspicions that the transports used to withdraw Soviet troops from the former GDR also served, among other things, to carry contraband in both directions. It is also possible that units of the CIS army are offering antiquarian books at astronomical prices.

It is known from confirmed incidents that representatives of German antiquarian booksellers are touring Russian libraries and offering hard currency for German books from their 'reserves'. Nor is this done merely by an obscure few: even the most reputable firms do not shrink from such activities. In Tomsk, for example, representatives of a well-known German publishing and bookselling firm attempted to induce the library director to exchange trophy books for the latest German scientific publications. In that instance, according to our information, the firm was given a negative reply, but there are verifiable cases of such efforts 'succeeding'.

Thus, Frankfurt City and University Library was offered a nineteenth-century book by an antiquarian dealer. An invoice had already been made out when the librarian responsible telephoned me to say that a Bremen ownership stamp had been found in one of the books in the batch about to be paid for. It was clearly Bremen's property, since the book was from the collection of the diplomat Rudolf Schleiden, which had been evacuated in its entirety during the Second World War. Parts of the collection had been returned to the library with the archival material, but the printed books had at some point been separated from the rest of the collection and had found their way to West Germany. Since then we have received a letter from the firm concerned in which they vigorously question our ownership. The reason given is a curious one: they claim to have dealt for years with antiquarian material which came originally from German libraries, but which through the confusion of war passed into the possession of a neighbouring eastern state and was later sold on from there. It is clearly being hinted that Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary placed large quantities of older books on the Western market in their quest for hard currency. That, however, is a different matter, since of course a German library in Prague or Brno is not the same thing as a Bremen book in Moscow. There are rumours that incunabula from German trophy collections are being sold in the 'Russian market' at Ankara in Turkey. That is a very serious matter, because in the USSR such books were never left in the special reserves, but were taken out and placed in the rare book departments.

In my view, in 1992 an effective exchange of cultural property displaced in the 1940s would still have been possible if the agreements had been speedily put into effect. Now it is already too late, firstly because no Russian government now possesses the authority exercised by the Soviet government: Kiev and Minsk are outside the territory of the Russian Federation. Secondly, 'free-

dom of the press' now prevails in Russia, meaning that any public figure can give voice to his opinion. It is an irony of history that only in the era of glasnost did the first articles on war trophies appear in the pages of the Soviet press, giving the German side the opening for negotiations at governmental level on the restitution of cultural property. If the directors of Russian libraries had not volunteered their cooperation, the negotiations of 1992–1993 would not have taken place. Five years later, however, the Russian press is giving space to outbursts showing a different attitude. In 1994 the journal *Knizhnoe obozrenie* published an article under the title 'He who owns, owns; but he who has lost, has lost'. This shows that fifty years after the Second World War the trophy books, renamed and relocated, continue to serve their turn as a symbol of victory because so many of the victor's other attributes have been wiped out with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The restitution of displaced library collections has now become a problem which is psychological in its nature. The situation suffers from the confusion of the two viewpoints to which I have already alluded: that the books removed were not simply books but were above all trophies. Those which in 1947 still possessed any scientific interest are now, it is said, only good for pulping. The German government, like those of certain other countries, is aiding the Russians with donations of new books and computer equipment. These gifts, it is said, can compensate Russian libraries for those of the trophy books which are still of research interest. Negotiations are under way, too, over long-term collaboration between German and Russian libraries. Nevertheless, the authorities have also to reckon with public opinion, because nothing is being written in the press about these matters. The average Russian retains the impression that the Germans are again robbing Russia of its wealth (meaning the delivery of natural gas), and that the German government's demand for the return of cultural goods is sheer effrontery. That is what they think, which is why a passive resistance can be sensed on the part of ordinary Russian library staff despite the conscientious conduct of senior librarians. After all, ordinary library employees, who may have worked in their posts for thirty years, hold information which much more recently appointed directors can never possess.

7. Registration of Provenance and Actual Location

What is there left for us to do? I have already mentioned the collection of Bremen prints which is held, at least in part, at the Russian National Library. From the artistic point of view, in my opinion, this collection is not of outstanding value; but as a systematic collection of all prints relating to the city it does have a value which is focused specifically on the history of that Hansa city. Anyone who wishes to work on the history of our early printed graphic art is obliged to go to St Petersburg. The task, then, is now one of collecting information, since Russian libraries now at least admit foreign librarians to

their rare book and print departments. Earlier, entry was simply refused with a reference to the regulations for use or other similar pretexts. The All-Russian State Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow has even published a catalogue of early German printed books, with references to their previous owners and early stamps of ownership.⁸ Although we would naturally prefer the books themselves to be returned to us, nevertheless such a situation is greatly preferable to the secrecy which formerly reigned. The German side unquestionably still expects all the books which were removed to be returned; but the fact is that a part of the books removed constitutes the cultural heritage of a particular town or locality. Small peoples painstakingly collect evidence of their past. In this sense Germany has always been a conglomerate of various small states and free cities, and we are now attempting to restore our historical identity. This applies above all to the Hansa cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck, which suffered terribly from the displacements following the Second World War.

The present efforts have as their aim that Russian libraries should at least allow foreign scholars to work on their rare book collections under the same conditions as in the West. The first step in this direction is a normal catalogue which indicates previous owners.⁹ This is now in Russian called *provenientsiia*. In the past such provenances were noted, e.g. 'books belonging to Voltaire' in the Imperial Public Library. In the Soviet period disinformation was the basis not only of politics, but also of library administration. We now await the spread of democracy, in this sense, within the libraries of the Russian Federation.

There is one further aspect to this. Work is now being carried out in Germany on recording the geographical location of library resources and on the description of individual historic collections, for example as part of the publishing project directed by Professor Fabian in Münster.¹⁰ The purpose of

⁸ *Catalogus librorum sedecimi saeculi [...]. Katalog nemetskoiazychinykh izdaniy XVI veka v fondakh VGBIL*. Sostavil E. A. Korkmazova pod red. N. V. Kotreleva (Moscow, Rudomino, 1992). xxiv, 257 pp. The Poles have described displaced books similarly, with their provenances, e.g. *Katalog inkunabułów biblioteka Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu*. Oprac. Maria Strutyńska (Toruń, Uniwersytet M. Kopernika w Toruniu, 1995). 196 pp. (Wydawnictwa Jubileuszowe). There, on p. 196, are listed books from Königsberg (the State and University Library in 'Królewiec'). Surely they belong to the present Kaliningrad oblast?

⁹ In the Soviet period, catalogues of incunabula even listed previous owners (i.e. provenances) in their indexes, provided that there were no trophy books among them, for example: *Katalog inkunabul Nauchnoi biblioteka Tomskogo universiteta*, sost. V. V. Lobanov (Tomsk, 1988), 39 (2) pp.; *Inkunaablid Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Teaduslikus Raamatukogus. Catalogus incunabulorum, quae in Bibliotheca Universitatis Litterarum Tartuenssis asservantur. Kataloog*. Koostanud Olev Nagel (Tallinn, Kirjastus 'Kunst', 1982). 95 (1) pp.

¹⁰ *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland* (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, Olms-Weidmann, 1992–). In this project the libraries themselves describe their collections, and its publications are issued with the support of the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). A similar project is in preparation at the Polish National Library: see *Informator o polskich księgozbiorach historycznych i powstałych na ziemiach polskich do r. 1950*. Because of the smaller number of items

such undertakings is partly practical, to enable scholars to inform themselves of the resources most important for their work. However, the historiography of libraries is also a subject within the field of book and library studies. We are all aware that each library has its own history: often the nucleus of a city or even a court library was a private collection. Thus the Polish Załuski collection formed the basis of Catherine II's library, which is now in the Russian National Library. We can describe the most recent elements in the holdings of large libraries in the same way. Discussion of the relocation of library holdings as a result of the Second World War is capable of serving as the occasion for intensifying studies on the building of collections in Russian and other research libraries on the territory of the former USSR. The end result, if 'reserve' books were to be included, would be our ability to discuss the complex picture of the libraries' history in the twentieth century. This is not so much a practical as a scholarly mission. Surely now is the time for such an initiative?

A feature of the present situation is a blatant disparity between the information available on post-1945 removals of library collections to Poland and that on removals to Russia. Former German holdings removed to Polish territory have been recorded and made accessible through catalogues in a quite exemplary manner, while we are still largely groping in the dark to find those former German collections which were incorporated into the stocks of the great Russian libraries in Leningrad and Moscow. The pamphlet recently issued by the State Library in Berlin¹¹ makes a particularly clear contrast between the attitudes of the Polish and the Russian/Soviet authorities.

Translated from German and Russian by Gregory Walker

involved, it is much easier to describe groups of manuscript collections, e.g. Danuta Kamolowa et al., *Zbiory rękopisów w bibliotekach i muzeach w Polsce. Przewodnik* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1988). 492 pp.

¹¹ *Verlagert, verschollen, vernichtet . . . Das Schicksal der im 2. Weltkrieg ausgelagerten Bestände der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1995). 50 pp., many illustrations.

Censorship in the Libraries of Latvia (1940–1990)

Viesturs Zanders

Throughout the first Soviet occupation (1940–1941), the subsequent Nazi occupation (1941–1944) and the almost fifty-year-long Soviet occupation after the Second World War, the libraries of Latvia found themselves under the all-embracing ideological pressure of those totalitarian great powers.

The principal organ of censorship under Soviet rule was the Central Administration of Literature (Glavlit) and its satellites, the Departments for the Storage of Special Literature (*Speciāli glabājamās literatūras nodaļas*, often abbreviated as *specfondi*). By ‘special’ literature was meant the special, restricted-access holdings of material deemed to be ideologically suspect (translated hereafter as ‘special holdings’). They were systematically and deliberately engaged in the destruction of cultural property in the largest Latvian research libraries.

Several generations had almost no opportunity to acquaint themselves with the real history of their country, or with a significant part of their national culture. It is no exaggeration to say that the destruction of many publications in large quantities, and the impoverishment of library collections, is a clear expression of intellectual genocide.

Sources for the study of this topic are unfortunately incomplete. This article makes use primarily of archival documents describing the activity of Glavlit and of the special holdings department in the Latvian State Library, as well as a number of recent publications.¹

The First Soviet Occupation

Following the Soviet annexation of Latvia in the summer of 1940, the true intentions and aims of the so-called ‘cultural revolutionaries’ soon became unmistakable. The official newspaper of the Latvian Communist Party, *Cīņa* (‘The Struggle’) declared as early as 9 July that libraries should be cleared of ‘Fascist, White-Guardist and all kinds of trashy literature’. A month later, on 9 August, it was decided to establish the Latvian Glavlit. In August, too, libraries began to receive lists of books to be removed from their collections. The first printed list of books banned by Glavlit (1800 titles in Latvian, German and Russian) appeared in January 1941. This and subsequent lists were for ‘official

¹ I. Klekere, ‘Ļ Glavlito “Sārašus” neļtrauktos literatūros “cenzavimas” Latvijos TSR Valstybinės bibliotekos specialaus saugojimo skyriuje’, in *Lietuvos bibliotekų fondų istorija XX amžiuje* (Vilnius, 1994), pp. 42–45; S. Sardiko, ‘Cenzūra bibliotēkā (1940–90)’, *Latvijas Nacionālās bibliotēkas raksti*, XIX (1994), pp. 74–95.

use' only, and had to be sent back to Glavlit when the clearance had been completed. It is not therefore surprising that these lists are now bibliographical rarities.

On 25 January 1941, the Latvian Glavlit set up a twelve-person working group charged with removing, within a week, all 'harmful' literature in libraries and bookshops in Riga.² By that was meant not only all books included in the first printed list, but also 'all printed matter hostile to the socialist state, the internal and foreign policies of the USSR and the theory of Marxism-Leninism'; also, pending inspection, all books and periodicals (except communist ones) printed abroad; and all newspapers and journals printed in independent Latvia (1918–1940).³

S. Shustin, at that time the commissar responsible for internal affairs (and later the organiser of the mass deportations from Latvia) was asserting as late as 10 March 1941 that the Latvian book trade and libraries were still 'full of counter-revolutionary, religious, idealistic, pornographic and other harmful literature'.⁴

On 26 March 1941 the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party instructed Glavlit to remove 'all politically harmful literature'. At the beginning of April the Latvian State Library received from Glavlit a set of instructions prepared in Moscow (1938) on the organization of special holdings.⁵

It is now almost impossible to establish the number of books destroyed. Up to 15 May 1941, 477,225 books had been taken out of libraries' collections.⁶ Outside Riga, the books were usually stored in buildings used by the executive committees and militia districts in provincial towns, where they were cut up before pulping. The communist 'activists' were not always equal to their mission: for example, boxes of books were later found in the courtyard of the party committee building of the Cēsis district which contained undamaged copies. It is typical that the inspector sent by Glavlit SSSR was forced to admit that the removal of the 'harmful' books had been carried out in a hurry, without adequate records being made, and that the books had been 'barbarically' destroyed. K. Grīnvalds, then head of the Latvian Glavlit, also later accepted that everything had been done superficially due to the sheer mass of material: books were often handed over for pulping by weight, and not always with precise documentation.⁷

The Nazi Occupation

² State Archive of Latvia, PA-101.f., 2.apr., 263.1., 39.1p.

³ Latvian National Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, A164 No. 27.

⁴ State Archive of Latvia, PA-101.f., 1.apr., 44.1., 14.1p.

⁵ LNL Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, A324 No. 1.

⁶ State Archive of Latvia, 917.f., 1.apr., 1.1., 36.1p.

⁷ Ibid., PA-101.f., 1.apr., 44.1., 15.1p.

The authorities of the Nazi occupation also lost no time in issuing an order, on 1 August 1941, which laid down which books should be removed. Communist and Jewish authors in all languages were regarded as harmful. So were English, French and American books published after Hitler's coming to power (1933); older German literature with Marxist leanings; and Latvian literature which was in any way hostile to the Germans.⁸ Lists of books taken out of the collections had to be sent to the Directorate-General for Culture and Education, but by 13 August only 56 replies with the required book-lists had been received in response to the 628 circulars sent out.⁹

In 1941 two printed book-lists appeared containing between them more than 10,000 titles. These books had to be removed from libraries, bookshops and second-hand dealers. Books intended for destruction had to be handed over to Reichsleiter Rosenberg's 'action staff' (*Einsatzstab*) in Riga, who had the right to inspect every library. A few copies of the books intended for destruction were permitted to be held under special restrictions in the provincial library (former State Library) and the university library. The director of the provincial library demanded that the special holdings should be properly searchable, because the Nazi authorities frequently asked for specific publications.¹⁰ The university library justified its desire to retain a number of copies of books published during the Soviet period by arguing that even oppositionist literature needed to be studied in order to combat hostile movements.¹¹

The Second Soviet Occupation

After the Second World War the repressive Soviet authorities resumed the so-called 'cleansing' of book stocks in Latvian libraries with renewed vigour. At least nine printed lists of prohibited books, with more than 8,000 titles in all, were prepared by Glavlit. From publicly accessible collections, all periodicals from the period of independent Latvia had to go, as well as all legislation and statistical publications, textbooks, publishers' catalogues, directories and similar works. Also forbidden were all editions of the works of Mark Aldanov, Ivan Bunin, Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, Aleksei Remizov, Nikolai Rerikh and other writers published after 1917, as well as certain titles by Mikhail Bulgakov, Mikhail Zoshchenko and Aleksandr Kuprin printed in Riga in the 1920s and 1930s. Prefaces and commentaries written by purged literary historians had to be removed from books: their names were banned from book titles and references. According to Glavlit SSSR's circular, pages removed from such books were to be kept in special holdings, but where these did not exist the pages

⁸ Ibid., 1489.f., 3.apr., 1.1., 1.1p.

⁹ Ibid., 701.f., 1.apr., 26.1., 1.1p.

¹⁰ Ibid., 235.f., 1a apr., 3.1., 49.1p.

¹¹ Latvian State Archive of History, 7427.f., 7.apr., 47.1., 57.1p.

were simply to be burnt.

The sharp eyes of Glavlit personnel detected many other undesirable things in libraries. For instance, in 1950 they found some 14,000 unrecorded books in the basement of the Ministry of Education, even though its library had been officially abolished in 1948.¹² In 1951 the newspapers asserted that the collections of public libraries in Riga were still contaminated by various kinds of 'ideological trash'. In the Third Riga Public Library, for instance, ideologically harmful fiction was said to have been 'smuggled in', and the people who honoured Pushkin were also being faced with 'the lying works of bourgeois scribblers' such as Iurii Aikhenval'd and Vladislav Khodasevich. Thanks to the librarians' negligence, the works of the 'renegade' Karl Kautsky could still be found in the catalogues of the Latvian State Library.

In 1950 the Capuchin monastery of Schönberg/Skaistkalne was closed. A part of the monastery's library of around 1,500 volumes was moved to the Fundamental Library of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, part of it 'travelled' to Russia, and the remainder was simply destroyed. Ten years later the library (about 3,000 volumes) of the Dominican monastery of Aglona, founded in 1700, was destroyed.

'Special holdings' were established only in the three largest research libraries in Riga: the State Library (now the National Library of Latvia), the Fundamental Library of the Academy of Sciences (now the Latvian Academic Library), and the Latvian University Library. Latvian books printed abroad until 1972 were concentrated exclusively at the Fundamental Library and the Latvian Communist Party's Institute of Party History.

Work in the special holdings was regulated by secret instructions from Glavlit, and by its orders on the storage and exploitation of the literature they contained. A special department in the Latvian Ministry of Culture also issued orders about the removal of ideologically 'harmful' publications.

Information on prohibited works disappeared from public catalogues and registers, and bibliographic compilations were forbidden to mention them. Only the catalogues for use by library staff included literature to which access was allowed for 'research purposes'. This included 'obsolete' publications (indicated in records by 'y') and works for official use only (indicated by 'x').

Readers using the special holdings were issued only with those publications which they specifically requested; they were not allowed to consult the alphabetical staff catalogue independently. Readers had to declare in writing that information acquired there would not be passed on. The special holdings were not merely passive conservers of the publications entrusted to them; they could also be described as active auxiliaries to the censorship. Their staff systematically intervened in the work of other library departments through the

¹² State Archive of Latvia, 917.f., 1.apr., 3.1., 57.1p.

so-called 'reviewing' of various kinds of literature. Since this 'evaluation' was frequently a lengthy process, such literature would also be held inaccessibly in the special holdings while it was carried out.

The Latvian State Library began book exchanges with West European libraries only in 1958; but even then, foreign literature arrived from Moscow in sealed mailbags. The Latvian Glavlit passed on to Moscow lists of publications awaiting inspection. Books bought for the library from private individuals or from antiquarian booksellers were kept initially in the special holdings until their future was decided. The work of special holdings in Latvia was checked by Glavlit's local and Moscow staff, and criticisms were often made, for example in 1953 when they found 10,000 or so unprocessed items in the State Library's special holdings.¹³

The liberalization of society in the second half of the 1980s affected the work of the special holdings as it did so much else. The holdings were allowed to be used, without special permission, by academicians, corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences, scholars with higher degrees, and leading cultural figures. In 1988 the reassessment of all material in the special holdings was begun, followed by its transfer to the publicly accessible library collections. The special holdings department of the State Library was abolished as a unit of its administrative structure in 1990. One of the characteristic institutions of Soviet ideology no longer existed; unfortunately, we shall long continue to feel its destructive effects.

Translated from German by Gregory Walker

¹³ LNL Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, A324 No. 2.

Reading in the Context of Censorship

V. D. Stel'makh

This work is based on data from several major research projects carried out in the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s. They were conducted by the Sector for the Book and Reading of the V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, which was at that time the main all-union research centre for the sociology of reading and librarianship.

The decade preceding the disintegration of the USSR and the collapse of the Soviet regime had a number of distinctive features which are important for the analysis of reading. It was characterised by clear signs of decline. Modernising tendencies were gathering speed, accompanied by a change in the social structure—a sharp increase in the percentage of the population living in towns and a growth in the number of well-educated people. By the end of the 1970s, people with incomplete secondary schooling or tertiary education already made up the overwhelming majority of the working population—81% compared to 43% in 1959.¹ By the middle of the 1980s, the number of people with higher or secondary specialised education was five times greater than it had been at the beginning of the 1960s. This resulted in deepening cultural differentiation, an increase in the range of issues and problems of public concern, and a growth in readers' needs and demands for information. This cultural pressure from below undermined the foundations of power and its ideology. The process of eroding the regime and discrediting Soviet norms and values was a distinctive feature of these years.

The regime's attempts to forestall the impending collapse and to stabilise the situation included strengthening censorship and other repressive measures.

It is significant that in the first postrevolutionary period the Bolsheviks still acknowledged the illegality of their actions—only organs of 'the counterrevolutionary press of all shades' were to be closed down. At the same time, it was stressed that 'suppression of the press, even at such a critical time, was permissible only when absolutely essential' and that 'the present regulation is of a temporary nature and will be revoked ... on the inception of normal conditions of social life'. But by the mid-1930s Glavlit, the actual agency of censorship, had coalesced with the ideological sections of Party organs and with the organs of state security to form a powerful mechanism for the total control over thought. In the period under consideration the boundaries of Stalinist censorship had been widened: in the 1970s and 1980s everything was censored, including inscriptions on porcelain, signboards, official forms,

¹ *Chislennost' i sostav naseleniia SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda* (Moscow, 1984), p. 23.

invitations, etc. Books were subject to political censorship, ideological censorship (censorship of thought) and factual censorship—concealing from the population information on the real state of the country.

This was a censorship which was not restrained by any provisions of the law and hence arbitrary and not accountable to anyone, a censorship carried out, for the most part, before publication and in secret. A. V. Blium, who has carried out research on the history of Soviet censorship, notes: ‘... the attitude of Glavlit in the 1970s and 1980s to the very word censorship and to the whole topic of the history of censorship’ is significant. Not only was it forbidden to write anything about censorship relating to the Soviet period (this was quite out of the question!), but one was also required to keep to a minimum—and if possible not use at all—the criminal word censorship in historical research on the book, even when referring to the pre-revolutionary period.’²

Library ‘special’, restricted-access collections, known as ‘spetskhrans’,³ developed in a similar way. Researchers have not yet determined exactly when they arose, but there is no doubt that they took on their final shape at about the same time as Glavlit. Sovnarkom’s first resolutions and decrees were basically about Russian and foreign ‘White Guard’ literature, which had to be sent to libraries for storage and public use. However the range of forbidden literature gradually grew wider and was eventually virtually all-embracing. By the 1970s and 1980s, the spetskhrans had become an independent system within libraries, to which were consigned not only publications openly hostile to the regime but also completely innocent works—perhaps because of a mention of the name of a disgraced political leader or writer, or because they could be seen as ‘imperialist propaganda’, and so on.⁴ On 1 June 1983 the spetskhran of the Lenin State Library of the USSR—one of the largest in the country—contained 1,131,559 items. About 33,000 items were added to its stock each year.

Thus, in the period under review society suffered an almost complete blockade on information, combined with a sophisticated system of disinformation. This was the culmination of the tragic process of cultural deformation which began after the October Revolution.

Censorship as a Meta-System

The problem of reading in conditions of strict censorship must be considered as one facet of the relationship between the regime and society. Most

² A. V. Blium, *Za kulisami ‘Ministerstva Pravdy’. Tainaia istoriia sovetskoi tsenzury 1917–1929* (St Petersburg, 1994), p. 12.

³ The spetskhrans consisted of literature deemed to be ideologically suspect.

⁴ In the lists of books to be withdrawn from the general collections are works such as *The Care of Horses: A Handbook for Grooms*, *The Guinness Book of Records*, *Exercises in Syntax*, *A Primer and First Anthology for Beginning Readers*, etc.

often it is understood as open or secret resistance—on the one hand, a controlling and punitive regime, on the other, a suppressed and downtrodden people. However, in the 1970s and 1980s there was no uniformity in the attitudes of different social groups to life under censorship—open struggle, secret dissidence, open support and approval, trusting acceptance and many other attitudes. Censorship was able to become an all-pervasive, total system, rather like a cancerous cell infecting the whole body, only because of the interaction between state bodies and the various social groups who created literary culture.

Naturally it was the chief organ of state censorship, Glavlit, which initially decided on the range of books to which the reader might have access. However, beyond this there was self-censorship within the society. People working with the written word—directors of publishing houses, editors, authors, librarians and booksellers—narrowed still further the areas of openness. They interpreted any wish of the regime, official or unofficial, as an absolute prohibition. Thus, according to the secret ‘Instruction on Special [Restricted-Access] Collections (‘Instruktsiia o spetsfondakh literatury ...’) in the Libraries of the Soviet Union’ of 10 February 1948, all copies ‘of library books which are politically harmful due to their content, even if they are not listed in the Glavlit decree on the withdrawal of books’, were to be sent to the special collections. Guided by this document, librarians carried out checks and ‘purges’ of library stocks. In so doing, they often demonstrated even greater vigilance than required by the Glavlit orders. Eye-witnesses testify that ‘nearly all the staff who handled the “suppressed” books felt it necessary to demonstrate their personal vigilance They scratched out the names of the latest “enemies of the people”, blanked them out with Indian ink, sent their own “submissions” to Glavlit, spied on readers who were interested in “that sort” of literature as well as on their colleagues.’⁵

In this society, one aspect of censorship was control over the percolation of new cultural and aesthetic images to the reader. As avant-garde aesthetics introduce new ways of thinking and behaving, a new outlook on life, they could be seen as a veiled threat to the regime and so the political and punitive organs frequently undertook censorship on aesthetic grounds. A clear example of this is the Ordinance of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), ‘On the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*’, which is devoted to a Party ‘assessment’ of the work of Mikhail Zoshchenko and Anna Akhmatova. As well as political and ideological criteria (‘preaching corruption and triviality, devoid of ideas, indifferent to politics’), they were criticised on aesthetic grounds too (‘inartistic plays and stories’, ‘low quality literary works’, ‘poetry steeped in pessimism and degeneration . . . stuck in a position

⁵ A. P. Shikman, ‘Sovershenno sekretno’, *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1988, 6, pp. 3–12.

of bourgeois, aristocratic aestheticism and decadence').⁶

However, aesthetic censorship was most often carried out by the organs created for this purpose, i.e. the Union of Writers of the USSR, the State Committee on the Press, or by cultural groups responsible for a recognised aspect of Soviet culture. To the outside world, this appeared to be conflict between literary groups and tendencies.

Thus, when analysing the problem of reading in the context of censorship one must keep in mind the overall monopoly of the press and readers' choice. One should not discuss the activity of a specific state body but rather the complex social mechanism, controlling the very possibility of texts going into circulation.

Particular Functions of Literature and Reading

Under censorship, literature acquires a particular function—it is virtually the only bearer of spiritual freedom and moral precepts. In this, Russia's example is typical. Here, the literary tradition has always been strong. One may confidently assert that since the time of Pushkin literature has played the central part in Russian culture. In many ways this was a result of the absence of political freedom: 'In autocratic nineteenth-century Russia, literature played the role of the then nonexistent parliament, poems and novels spoke of liberty for the spirit ...'.⁷ The printed word enjoyed indisputable authority, and the writer was elevated to the status of teacher and prophet.

In surviving letters about Pushkin written by peasants in the nineteenth century, simple illiterate or semi-literate country people who had not read the poet's works nevertheless speak of him as 'the Messiah', 'the Teacher', 'great' or, in their peasant usage, 'wise'. They treasure his works 'as a Symbol of Truth' and 'follow them to the letter'.⁸

In post-revolutionary, secularised Russia where all institutions providing moral guidance and norms, especially the Church, had been wiped out and where there was no system of objective information, the missionary role of literature became even more pronounced. In the 1970s and 1980s, the charismatic role of the writer could be seen in the regular meetings held at the Lenin Library which brought together the most popular authors and the general public. Large audiences would attend, but it is significant that a high proportion would not have read the writer's works, but wanted to hear direct from the

⁶ 'O zhurnalakh "Zvezda" i "Leningrad". Iz postanovlenii TsK VKP(b) ot 14 avg. 1946 g.', in *Direktivny VKP(b) i postanovleniia Sovetskogo pravitel'stva o narodnom obrazovanii: sbornik dokumentov za 1917–1947 gg.* (Moscow, 1947), vyp. 1, pp. 77–80.

⁷ Klaus Mehnert, *The Russians and their Favorite Books* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1983), p. 15.

⁸ B. S. Meilakh, 'Pushkin v vospriiatii i soznanii dorevoliutsionnogo krest'ianstva', *Pushkin: issledovaniia i materialy*, tom 5 (Leningrad, 1987), p. 96.

writer the answers to life's essential questions—on ideals and faith, the meaning of life, current affairs, the future, etc. The well-known German journalist and commentator Klaus Mehnert, who knew the USSR well, noted in his final book, which was on Russians as readers: 'Formerly, many years ago, when asked about my profession, I said: "Professor". That was accepted by the Russians as a matter of course. But once, when I replied "writer", the reaction was totally different. *Pisatel'*! people exclaimed with an expression of awe. Since then I stick to "writer", reaping great respect ...'.⁹

The high level of literary awareness in society in the final period of Soviet rule was not merely the continuation of a tradition; rather it was society's attempt to find a universal channel of social communication which would compensate for the absence of normal means of interaction. The literary scholar M. Chudakova diagnosed the problem precisely: 'For many years, our economic, sociological, philosophical and historical thought could not get into print—and so literature took on the function of thinking philosophically, analysing the economic situation, explaining historical events Literature filled the place left by everything from consumer goods to scholarship Events of all sorts were concentrated into literature, as everything else was uneventful.'¹⁰

Our research in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated how reading always topped the list of cultural priorities. In response to free-choice questions such as 'What do you like doing most in your free time?', or 'If you had more free time, what would you do with it?', 70–80% of respondents would always answer 'reading'.¹¹ Irrespective of the actual life-style of different groups, reading had a symbolic value and served as a sort of cultural yardstick. (It is significant that nowadays, when responding to analogous questions, respondents mostly mention mundane, essential activities—watching television, working for extra money, housework, and so on. Reading is mentioned alongside these activities. With the normalisation of life, reading is losing its status as a cultural value, is no longer a marker of being 'highly cultured' and is becoming a part of everyday life).

Under censorship, distinctive reading strategies developed. When reading openly-published literature, intellectuals engaged in a sort of decoding of the text, aware of the nuances of euphemism, subtext, context, etc. The readers endeavoured to 'read between the lines', sometimes discovering more than the author had actually intended to say.¹²

⁹ Mehnert (note 6), p. 41.

¹⁰ M. Chudakova, 'Ne zasloniat'sia ot real'nosti', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 9 January 1991.

¹¹ *Kniga i chtenie v zhizni nebol'shikh gorodov. Po materialam issledovaniia chteniia i chitatel'skikh interesov* (Moscow, 1973), p. 283.

¹² V. Kharlamov, 'Spetstainy otechestvennoi kul'tury', *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1992, 3–4, pp. 116–17.

As for illegal texts, they were passed from hand to hand in a very short time depending on their size—from two to three hours up to several days. This activity was not really reading in the conventional sense; rather it should be seen as a distinctive form of social activity, as a means of protest, of self-assertion, of demonstrating one's personal point of view, identifying oneself with a certain social or cultural group and so on.

Nowadays the development of normal information and social systems, free of arbitrary dictation and party and state control, has deprived literature of its peculiar role as a substitute. For the first time in two centuries, Russian culture is no longer centred on literature. The destruction of this literary tradition is seen by many, particularly the intelligentsia, as a 'cultural catastrophe' and 'a return to barbarism'. Writers and artists, losing their role as 'prophets in their own country', are bewildered and perplexed. Some are unable to bear not being needed and have become part of the aggressive opposition. Others have honestly admitted that in Soviet times it was harder for them to work, but it was more interesting.

The Reading Repertory

Control over readers is possible only where the state has a complete monopoly of book publishing and distribution. In the 1970s and 1980s such a system, typical of a totalitarian state, was finally in position, and state publishing comprised over 80% of all printed output. At this time reading was widespread, with high activity levels.

Table One

As a percentage of the adult population

Regularly read newspapers (At least several times a week)	75–80%
Regularly read books (At least one book a month)	50–60%
Use public libraries	53%
of which, in urban areas	49.2%
in rural areas	62.9%

Source: *Kniga i chtenie v zerkale sotsiologii* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 16, 17, 19.

Inevitably, as new cultural contingents came along and readers' demands broadened, there was a strengthening of the policy of standardisation and restraint. Even official statistics demonstrate that by the mid-1980s the range of books published was expanding only slightly. The number of book and journal titles was almost the same as in the 1960s: in 1985 it was only 106% of the 1960 figure and 104% of that for 1980.¹³ There has been a consistent reduction in the production of journals and other serials (collections, bulletins, etc.),

¹³ *Pechat' SSSR v 1985 godu: statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 9–10.

which are the most innovative sort of publication.

Table Two

	1970	1980	1985
Number of journals and other serials (excluding newspapers), in thousands of titles published	5968	5236	5180

Source: *Pechat' SSSR v 1985 godu: statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1986), p. 104.

Restrictions on the range of reading available to the reader were implemented in two ways—with the aid of pre-publication censorship of state publishing and through the withdrawal from libraries and the book sale network of books which had been published legally. It is not yet possible to generalise about Glavlit's cumulative lists and orders relating to individual authors or publications.¹⁴ However, individual examples give an indication of the scale of the activity of the censorship authority. Thus, there were over 8,000 titles in the second part of the 'List of books to be withdrawn from libraries and the book trade network'. (Librarians called it the 'main' list). There were over 600 names in the 1969–1976 list of authors, all of whose works were to be withdrawn from the open collections. In many cases there were explanatory notes alongside the names of forbidden authors, such as 'a White Guard publication', 'worked on literature under the Germans', 'nationalist', 'Jewish writer', 'plays in Hebrew'. Authors listed included Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Vladimir Maksimov, R. Garaudy, Andrei Siniavskii, Viktor Nekrasov, Aleksandr Gladilin, Efim Etkind and others. Even in the late 1980s, after the initial opening-up of the spetskhrans, there were 56 titles in the 'List of emigré serial titles which must be stored and consulted in closed collections', 46 titles in the 'List of emigré Russian-language serials which are completely restricted', and 31 titles in the 'List of emigré serials which are completely restricted'.¹⁵

Limiting the reading repertory was accompanied by a growth in the print-runs of the literature which was permitted and approved. This policy was based on a rather simple idea: the obligatory literary selection should be the only one accessible to the whole of the country's population. Particularly favourable treatment was accorded to mass ideological works and literature intended for the lesser educated and middle-brow groups. Thus, one sixth of all book production was devoted to political and socio-economic publications; Lenin was the most frequently published author; Gor'kii was the most fre-

¹⁴ These official papers, kept in the former spetskhran of the Russian State Library, have not yet been put into order and do not comprise an organized archive in which researchers might work.

¹⁵ Supplements to Glavlit Order No. 1094 of 26.09.88 'On changes in the regulations for the storage and use of previously restricted foreign publications' (for official use only).

quently published literary writer; Lenin’s *Tasks of the Youth Leagues* was the book which was published most often and in the biggest print-runs; Ostrovsky’s *How the Steel Was Tempered* was the literary work which was published most often and in the biggest print runs.¹⁶ There was discrimination against all groups of readers, but it was directed primarily at the best-educated part of society, the literary, social and scientific elite, who determined the dynamics of intellectual life. It was this particular group which, despite its constant growth, was deprived of the possibility of publishing its work and having free access to information, which inevitably resulted in mass de-intellectualisation and a loss of high cultural standards, and a civilisation characterised by inertia. The examples given below bear witness to the unequal treatment of different groups in their access to culture, through the prohibition of certain authors and types of literature and the unlimited issue of others.

Table Three (1966–1980)

<i>Authors/Titles</i>	<i>Number of editions</i>	<i>Total print-run in millions of copies</i>
V. I. Lenin	5949	232
Marx and Engels	1017	41.9
Brezhnev (Autobiography)	228	32.0
Materials of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU		39.4

Source: *Knigoizdanie v SSSR: tsifry i fakty* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 13–15.

Naturally the works of party leaders and documents from CPSU plenums and congresses were clearly in the lead. But in order to explain what ‘being published a lot’ meant for a writer in the USSR, consider these examples from 1980 to 1987 of the works of literary bureaucrats who enjoyed the support of the state authorities:¹⁷

Table Four

<i>Authors/Titles</i>	<i>Number of editions</i>	<i>Total print-run in millions of copies</i>
G. Markov:		
<i>Strogo</i> vy (novel)	10	1.500
<i>Sol’ zemli</i> (novel)	13	2.349
<i>Sibir’</i> (novel)	13	1.700
S. Mikhalkov	92	39.695
A. Ivanov	13	6.460
P. Proskurin	16	9.800

Source: calculated from *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR 1980–1985* (Moscow, 1983–88).

¹⁶ *Knigoizdanie v SSSR: tsifry i fakty* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 13–15.
¹⁷ T. Zhukova, ‘Komu povem tsifir’ svoiu?’, *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 3 June 1988, no. 23.

Compare these figures with those for the issue of the works of many other authors who are the flower of Russian and world literature, but were prohibited or not approved by the authorities:

Table Five (1980–1985)

<i>Authors/Titles</i>	<i>Number of editions</i>	<i>Total print-run in thousands of copies</i>
Anna Akhmatova	5	216
Andrei Belyi (in Estonian)	1	35
Nikolai Gumilev	—	—
James Joyce	2	140
Evgenii Zamiatin	—	—
Albert Camus	2	50
Franz Kafka	—	—
Osip Mandel'shtam	—	—
Vladimir Nabokov	—	—
Boris Pasternak	4	450
Marcel Proust	1	84
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn	—	—
Marina Tsvetaeva	9	596

Source: calculated from *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR 1980–1985* (Moscow, 1983–88).

Foreign literature was subject to particularly harsh pre-publication censorship. This problem has been researched in detail by Professor Marianna Tax Choldin.¹⁸ Books on politics, international relations, sociology, philosophy, cybernetics, semiotics, linguistics etc. were hardly ever published, and those which did enter the country were immediately sent to the spetskhran. In the mid-1980s foreign publications made up 80% of the stocks of the spetskhran of the Lenin State Library of the USSR. The report on the work of the spetskhran explains that ‘this is to be expected, as the foreign holdings comprised material expressing false, subversive imperialist propaganda’.

Publications from major foreign countries made up an insignificant proportion of state book publishing:

¹⁸ Marianna Tax Choldin, ‘Censorship via Translation: Soviet Treatment of Western Political Writing’, in *The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars and Censors in the USSR* (Boston, 1989), pp. 29–51; ‘Access to Foreign Publications in Soviet Libraries’, *Reading and Libraries: Proceedings of Library History Seminar VIII, 1990* (Austin, University of Texas, 1991), pp. 135–50; ‘The New Censorship: Censorship by Translation in the Soviet Union’, *Journal of Library History*, 21(2), Spring 1986, pp. 334–49.

Table Six

	1975	1980	1985
Number of foreign books and pamphlets translated into Russian	3478	1889	2022
As a percentage of total number of book and pamphlet titles published	4%	2.3%	2.4%

Source: *Pechat' SSSR v 1985 g: statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 30–31; *Pechat' SSSR v 1980 g: statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 99–100; *Pechat' SSSR v 1975 g: statisticheskii sbornik* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 62–63.

Such a policy excluded us from world scholarly communication and exacerbated the technical and economic backwardness of the country. The essence of the state's book strategy consisted of forcing the public to read what was prescribed for it, not allowing people any space outside state control. The social mechanisms of censorship and other forms of state control made cultural self-renewal impossible and turned the society into a closed structure incapable of regulating itself or moving forward unaided, a society condemned to historical defeat.

The Black Market

The natural reaction of the reading public was the urge to escape the boundaries of what was permitted. A characteristic feature of this period was the development of 'shadow', parallel forms of cultural life. One of these was the black market in books. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was an active part of society, another world with its own values, in opposition to those of the official culture and ideology. The years of the book 'boom' and desperate shortage of books were those when the black market flourished. Buying books directly from other people was how 34.6% of Soviet adults acquired books for their own homes, and 68.4% of families living in major cities bought books only on the black market.¹⁹ A special study of the range of books on the black market was carried out by the Sector for the Sociology of Reading and Librarianship of the Russian State Library in 1988. Of Soviet Russian and foreign literature published in 1987, 1632 titles were selected; 347 of them (21.2%) were on sale in the black market.²⁰ On the black market, the most expensive categories of books were:

- Russian literature from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Russian Soviet literature by authors such as Anna Akhmatova, Osip Mandel'shtam, Boris Pasternak, Mikhail Bulgakov, Igor'-Severianin,

¹⁹ G. R. Iakimov, 'Chernyi knizhnyi rynek v defitsitarnoi situatsii', in *Kniga i chtenie v zerkale sotsiologii* (Moscow, 1990), p. 140.

²⁰ Iakimov (note 18), p. 143.

Aleksei Remizov, Fedor Sologub, etc. In the mid-1970s they were joined by photocopies of the works of Nikolai Gumilev, Mikhail Kuz'min, Vladislav Khodasevich and other books not reissued since the 1920s.

- The best examples of twentieth-century foreign literature which had rarely been published in the USSR: Marcel Proust, Jorge Luis Borges, Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann (*Joseph and his Brothers*), etc.
- Tamizdat—works by prohibited Russian and Soviet authors in editions published abroad—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Boris Pasternak (*Doctor Zhivago*), Viacheslav Ivanov, and others. Those who traded in such books dealt with a very limited group of trusted people.
- Religious books (the Bible, the Koran, the Talmud) and the works of Russian religious philosophers: Vladimir Solov'ev, Nikolai Berdiaev, Vasilii Rozanov, and others.
- Books on foreign philosophy, psychology and ethics published within the USSR in very small editions and books in limited editions marked 'For academic libraries'.
- Books by Russian and foreign literary scholars, especially in structuralism and semiotics: Iurii Lotman, Mikhail Bakhtin, Boris Eikhenbaum.
- Special series such as 'The Library of the Literature of Antiquity', 'Literature of the Renaissance', 'Literary Memoirs'.
- The works of Russian historians whose works had not been re-published such as Kliuchevskii, Solov'ev and Karamzin.
- Reference books.
- Books on art and picture albums, especially those published abroad.

Clearly, the black market was the antithesis of official publishing. It was directed towards readers' actual requirements and it restored to society, albeit only partially, that which the system had taken away.

Samizdat and its Readers

The term 'samizdat' appears regularly in works describing the social and cultural situation in the USSR in the 1960s–1980s. It is normally considered that this phenomenon arose as a result of Khrushchev's 'thaw'. However, the tradition of samizdat in Russia goes back to the ancient manuscript books ('secret', 'underground', 'free' literature). In the nineteenth century many things by Pushkin and Lermontov were circulated in samizdat, as were articles by Tolstoi. Researchers have defined certain periods when independent book publishing flourished. Thus in the early twentieth century samizdat 'became the means of expression for the newest artistic ideas, a sort of test-bed where the new art of book design tried out its strength'.²¹

²¹ E. Gollerbakh, 'Preodolenie Gutenberga', *Iskusstvo Leningrada*, 1989, 5, p. 32.

Samizdat started up in the Soviet period just as soon as revolutionary censorship was introduced. Academician D. S. Likhachev, the authoritative researcher in Russian culture and well-respected public figure, wrote: 'Samizdat has always existed, I can remember samizdat from when I first learnt to read'.²² Nevertheless, in Stalin's time samizdat did not exist as a serious strand in unofficial culture. Isolated cases of the creation and reading of underground texts were marginal activities. There are a number of explanations for this. In the 1930s–1950s the stratification of society and erosion of respect for the regime had not become as clear or widespread as in later decades. Furthermore, the Second World War facilitated the consolidation of society and the strengthening of the authority of the ruling powers. In addition, the cruelty of the repressive measures used to wipe out even the tiniest signs of dissidence maintained an atmosphere of fear and apparent unanimity.

The samizdat²³ of the 1960s–1980s was a completely different phenomenon, both in terms of its scale and in the role it played in social life. Here it is not a case of individual 'subversive' books or of literary schools in opposition to the official aesthetic, but of a whole system for creating and distributing information which had not been sanctioned by the state, and not controlled. The distributors and readers of samizdat were no longer heroic individuals on their own or tiny groups isolated from each other; rather, they were whole sections of society for whom underground literature had become a guiding principle, an antidote to the official ideology and culture. The samizdat of the 1960s and 1980s became a sort of moral opposition to the regime and a defence of the right of people to read what they wanted. Its distribution could not be halted by any criminal sanctions—Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code on 'Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, intended to subvert or weaken Soviet power' carried the penalty of six months to ten years in jail. Writing about the second half of the 1960s, Iu. Levada and V. Sheinis stated: 'The wave of samizdat gathered strength. Memoirs, historical research, literary works, excerpts from books hidden in special collections—anything that didn't manage to get into print when the censorship eased slightly, ended up in samizdat.'²⁴

There is no statistical or sociological information on the reading of samizdat at this time. Research ethics would not countenance the collection of such data or even the recording of individual examples. Thus we must rely on experts'

²² D. Likhachev, 'Merkurii', 1988, no. 161.

²³ In this case the term 'samizdat' is used to denote anything reproduced and distributed without official permission—the texts of unpublished books and articles, photocopies or typed copies of books and journals published in the West (tamizdat), copies of publications from libraries' spetskhrans, copies of books published in limited copies for the Central Committee of the CPSU and other agencies, tape-recordings, etc.

²⁴ Iu. Levada & V. Sheinis, 'Pogruzhenie v triasinu. Akt pervyi: 1964–1968', *Moskovskie novosti*, 13 noiabrya 1988, p. 9.

assessments, the memories of contemporaries and our own personal experiences. Researchers nowadays studying samizdat generally define its coverage by using terms such as 'the whole country', 'everyone', 'throughout society'. Nevertheless, samizdat was in fact typical of only one sector of society, that is, the intelligentsia, which organised access to culture for itself and defined the limits of its own spiritual freedom. Here we have in mind not merely the well-educated section of society, but comparatively small groups making up the social and cultural avant-garde, the upholders of the Russian cultural tradition, who did not need to wait for official permission before they were introduced to the works of 'unsuitable' authors, because 'they themselves had been printing and typing out these texts for many years past'.²⁵ Even after adding in the groups who passed samizdat from hand to hand and distributed it, we can not speak of reading samizdat as being widespread. Suetnov, the samizdat researcher and bibliographer, indicates that the initial 'print-run' of an illegal book would be 15–20 copies and the final total no more than 200 copies. The spontaneous, unorganised monthly 'print-run' would be about 50,000 copies. On this basis Suetnov estimates that the readership for each item might amount to 200,000 people.²⁶ In view of the private nature of contacts within groups, their closed and narrow channels of communication, and taking into account how labour-intensive the duplication of underground texts was, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the sector within which the free Russian press circulated numbered about two to two and half million people. But it must not be forgotten that despite being a tiny minority this was the innovative sector which acted in opposition to the ruling powers and the apparatus of repression, preserving society's cultural and moral potential.

The samizdat repertory was very different to the type of material consulted in the spetskhrams. Library issues were principally non-fiction scientific and academic works, as in accordance with the 'Instruction on Special Collections of Literature in the Libraries of the USSR', access to the spetskhrams was restricted to readers who could demonstrate that these materials were 'essential for academic work and other special purposes'. This had to be confirmed by a reference signed by 'the supervisor and also by the head of the Special Section of the applicant's Party and voluntary organizations'. For example, in the Lenin State Library of the USSR 61% of the works issued fell into the following categories: books and journals on technical topics (16%), political economy and economics (15%), philology, bourgeois ideology, sociology (10%), history of foreign countries (10%), history of the USSR, the Commu-

²⁵ L. Gudkov & B. Dubin, 'Literaturnaia kul'tura: protsess i ratsion', *Druzhba narodov*, 1988, 2, pp. 183–84.

²⁶ A. Suetnov, 'Samizdat—novyi istochnik bibliografirovaniia', *Znanie—sil*, 1990, no. 1, p. 82; A. Suetnov, *Spravochnik periodicheskogo samizdata* (Moscow, 1990). 164 pp.; *Moskovskie kollektzii samizdata: spravochnik*, sost. E. M. Strukova (Moscow, 1992). 275 pp.

nist Party of the Soviet Union of the Young Communist League (10%).

Documents distributed through samizdat were primarily articles and literary texts of general political and social significance. There was a marked change in their nature and composition around 1980. In the sixties and early seventies, samizdat was primarily literature, such as brilliant unpublished books (e.g. Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, the novels of Solzhenitsyn, Bunin's diary), the poetry of poets who had been prohibited, repressed or never published (such as Osip Mandel'shtam, Anna Akhmatova, Nikolai Gumilev, Marina Tsvetaeva, Iosif Brodskii). There were copies of Russian translations of Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Orwell's *1984*, Djilas's *New Class*, Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, and so on. Expert assessment suggests that over 300 works were in circulation in samizdat then.²⁷ This was the initial phase of re-thinking our past and appropriating the cultural heritage which had been hidden from society.

In the subsequent decade, it was primarily political samizdat which was produced and read. There were philosophical works such as Aleksandr Zinov'ev's *The Yawning Heights*, bulletins and chronicles such as the *Chronicle of Current Events*, which Andrei Sakharov saw as the greatest achievement of the human rights movement, foreign emigré journals (e.g. *Kontinent*), and also literary works from the new wave of emigré writers (such as Maksimov, Kopelev, Aksenov). The book which created the greatest stir in the whole history of samizdat was Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*.

One of the most significant features of samizdat at that time was the development of uncensored periodicals. In the 1960s, samizdat journals had perished almost immediately. Even the best known, *Sintaksis*, published only three issues. The readers of these journals were usually the close friends of the editor and compiler. In the subsequent period, uncensored journals on philosophy, religion, politics and literature (such as *37*, *Chasy*, *Mitin zhurnal*) acted as a magnet for different intellectual groups and furthered the differentiation of the readership for samizdat. They were published in Russian provincial towns as well as Moscow and Leningrad. These changes are evidence of a new phase in the development of society. It was brought about by the growth of independent public opinion and the formation of groups which began to oppose the regime actively—the human rights movement. It was these groups which took on the production and distribution of samizdat. The expansion of these groups facilitated the self-realisation of unofficial culture and its institutionalisation. Significant features included:

- the creation of original texts, which had been rare in the samizdat of the 1960s;
- the widening range of documents and greater opportunities for their repro-

²⁷ Iu. Mal'tsev, *Vol'naia russkaia literatura 1955–1975* (Frankfurt-am-Main, Posev, 1976).

- duction, especially setting up channels through which manuscripts could be sent to the West to be published and sent back to the USSR (tamizdat);
- the setting up of stable avenues of distribution within the USSR;
- improvements in technology for the reproduction of texts within the USSR, the acquisition of printing capability and the beginning of the practice of reprinting texts for a fee.

As a result, samizdat was distributed far more widely. The pressure of the censor grew correspondingly, and repressive measures from the authorities and the KGB became tougher. But they were unable to terminate samizdat. As Lidiia Chukovskaia wrote in a letter to the Secretariat of the Writers' Union, 'Despite all the obstacles you have put in its path . . . Russian literature is alive and will go on living'.²⁸

Thus, by the mid-1980s the readership for samizdat was clearly differentiated. Its creators and the top layer of distributors merged with human rights activists and were engaged in open opposition to the regime. For the other groups, reading samizdat was a form of symbolic identification with the opposition. Such reading did not help well-educated readers to lift up their heads and start to take action. The double-thinking typical of *homo sovieticus*, so well described by George Orwell, is clearly seen. The intelligentsia, driven by self-preservation and the desire to work, took part in official Soviet life and publicly approved the actions of the authorities, while making up for it by reading forbidden texts at home.

But nevertheless, in reading and thinking through 'their own' literature the intelligentsia worked out alternative models of social behaviour and culture. These models were not intended for society as a whole. This was culture for themselves and their own circle. Under Stalin, when informing was the norm, contacts between people were kept to a minimum. The intensive contacts of intellectuals in the 1960s-1980s were centred on illegal books—receiving them, reading them, handing them on, copying and discussing them. This form of social interaction took place within a widening pool, but nevertheless was restricted to a closed circuit of people who thought the same way. Reading illegal texts was a demarcation line dividing the intellectual avant-garde from the general reader. Beyond these islands of freedom was a different reality where another sort of literature ruled and where—as Orwell predicted—ignorance was strength.

The Mass Reader

In the mid-1980s, the general reading public comprised about 161,200,000 people, of whom about 40–50 million could be called active readers in the

²⁸ As cited in L. Alekseeva, *Istoriia inakomysliia v SSSR: noveishii period* (Vilnius, Moscow: Vest', 1992), p. 238.

opinion of experts.²⁹ This enormous audience of readers lacked the cultural depth required to find their own way in literature and had no access to the channels through which unofficial texts were distributed. The mass reader had to be content with the selection offered by state publishers. As was shown above, this comprised only a limited range of books and a restricted choice of authors, the so-called ‘books for the general public’. For these readers, the censorship and the whole ideological apparatus constructed an artificial cultural universe, regulated, well-ordered and confined.

Surveys of readers and the analysis of demands from mass libraries users which we carried out in the 1970s and 1980s show that fiction, poetry and plays were the most popular—a 1986 survey found that 91% of library users read these books. 63% of library members used literature on socio-economic and political problems, but this included textbooks and articles essential for their studies and books closely related to fiction, such as historical memoirs.³⁰ Mass ideological literature, issued in enormous quantities, was a dead weight in libraries’ bookstocks—80% of such books which mass libraries acquired were never used once.

The most popular authors were modern Soviet writers:

Table Seven

As a percentage of all books being read at the time of the survey

Pre-revolutionary Russian	10
Modern Soviet	74
Foreign classics	11
Modern foreign	5

Source: *Kniga i chtenie v zhizni nebol'shikh gorodov: po materialam issledovaniia chteniia i chitatel'skikh interesov* (Moscow, 1973), p. 78.

Note the poor showing of foreign literature. Soviet book publishing, which was reflected in the selections made by the mass reader, supported the publication of a limited range of foreign classics—Balzac, Zola, Theodore Dreiser, Galsworthy, Jack London (the most heavily published foreign author in the USSR). The publishing of contemporary foreign authors was very limited. There was a very narrow range of authors selected, and the print-runs were insufficient to allow distribution to the general public. As a result, this group did not develop a taste for foreign writing and were often not even interested in it: ‘Soviet literature is closer to life, more truthful, closer to people’s lives. It’s ours!; ‘Why should I read foreign writers? I live on Soviet soil. Foreign

²⁹ Gudkov & Dubin (note 23), p. 178.
³⁰ *Chtenie v vashei zhizni (po itogam sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniia v gorodakh RSFSR)* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im V. I. Lenina, 1988), p. 33.

writers' views on life are alien to us!'; 'Foreign writers write about the capitalist way of life. What can we learn from capitalism? But our books always teach you something!' (from survey responses).

Another feature of reading in the 1960s and 1970s was the concentration of reader interest on a limited range of fiction—historical novels, books on World War Two, detective stories, science fiction. Nevertheless, the range of authors read was reasonably broad. In the last decade of Soviet power, a small group of officially approved authors emerged, the so-called 'literary generals'. At that time, the bestsellers were the authors of Soviet epic novels (A. Ivanov, P. Proskurin), who created a specific genre of Soviet fiction. The primitive story-line was set against an artificially constructed historical background. The readers could escape the insignificance of their own lives and imagine themselves participating in important historical events and playing a significant role as an individual.³¹ These authors, who were published in massive editions every year, blocked readers' access to other literature and filled up ordinary readers' allocation of reading matter.³²

However, even with such large print-runs, the general reading public was not satisfied. Even official figures admitted that on average only 40% of reader demand was satisfied. The book shortage was keenly felt in the 'middle-brow' groups of readers. This is not to say that mass culture did not exist in the USSR. It did, but in a specific variation with its own ideological features. Soviet literature did not fit the formula of mass culture. Its goal was not entertainment and relaxation, but brainwashing intended to inculcate Soviet ideology into the public's mind. It was heavily politicised, using ideological symbols—'us and them', 'friends and enemies', 'socialism and capitalism', and so on. It lauded the cult of work in the name of the State and derided rest and relaxation. In this sense, Soviet mass literature was simply bad literature, but issued in huge print-runs. A whole range of standard genres was absent in Soviet mass literature—women's fiction, melodrama, comics, etc. There were severe limitations on detective stories, science fiction, adventure stories. One could buy these books only on the black market, where they cost the equivalent of the average monthly wage.

Thus, it was not only 'high' literature which was subject to censorship. Mass literature was dismissed as 'false propaganda for a hostile ideology and the bourgeois way of life'. Some elements of the unofficial culture created by the educated elite did filter down to the wider public, such as political jokes or tapes of the songs of Vysotskii and Okudzhava. But basically the behaviour of the general reading public under censorship and ideological restriction was

³¹ For more information, see L. Gudkov, and B. Dubin, *Literatura kak sotsial'nyi institut. Stat'i po sotsiologii literatury* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 126–41.

³² Between 1976 and 1985 reprints increased from 6% to 20%; according to the Soviet press this was 'in accordance with readers' requests and requirements'.

different to that of the intellectual avant-garde. These readers did not know, and could not know, what they were missing. The general reading public accepted and believed the official line on their superiority over other countries and times, expressed in slogans such as 'The Soviet people are the best-read people on earth' and 'The USSR is a great book power'.³³ In this sense, the Soviet reader constructed by the slogans was not merely a slogan but did exist—it came to coincide with the readers' own assessment of themselves.

Furthermore, the official ideology instilled in the public mind the belief that any anti-Soviet action, including reading samizdat, was an act of treason, a betrayal of one's own people. As a result of this policy, 'since the nation is forced to regard free writings as unlawful, it becomes accustomed to regard what is unlawful as free, freedom as unlawful, and what is lawful as unfree. In this way censorship kills the State spirit.'³⁴

Conclusion

In 1990 the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the law 'On the press and other means of mass information'. Its first article—Freedom of the press—states: 'The press and other mass media are free The censorship of mass media shall not be permitted.'³⁵ However, even after the enactment of this law, one which was so significant for Russian society, there have been several attempts at introducing preventive censorship. Examples include the State Committee for the State of Emergency (GKChP) order during the August 1991 Coup or the creation in early 1995 of a special body to interpret information on the war in Chechnia. Public opinion is being manipulated, if not with the aim of justifying Soviet censorship then at the very least to downplay its fatal role in society over seven decades. Thus, numerous researchers suggest that the regulatory function of censorship had a positive result in encouraging the illegal distribution of texts on a large scale. It is claimed that the explosion of publishing in the second half of the 1980s was an explosion of affirmation—official approval of what had already been chosen and read by the reading public.

As soon as library spetskhrams were opened, two ideas began to circulate in the library profession: one stressed the positive role of the closed collections in saving the nation's cultural heritage from destruction, the other argued that their existence did not entail any real infringement of readers' rights, as any-

³³ For more details, see *Sovetskii prostoi chelovek. Opyt sotsial'nogo portreta na rubezhe 90-kh.* (Moscow, 1992), p. 13.

³⁴ Karl Marx, 'Debates on Freedom of the Press . . .', in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. I (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1975), pp. 132–81, p. 168.

³⁵ 'O pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii. Zakon Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik', *Izvestiia*, 20 iyunia 1990 g. Translator's note: English translation available in W. E. Butler, 'The New Soviet Law on the Press', *Solanus*, 5, 1991, pp. 167–76.

one who really needed access could get it. All these and similar arguments are myths created and circulated by those groups which were involved in the activities of the censorship and ideological authorities. They hope to use these interpretations to justify their actions to the people or to shift to others the responsibility for their own weaknesses and mistakes.

Today there are claims that it was the constant struggle against the censor which helped our culture develop its unique traits. But this battle against the regime was a great tragedy for our literature. The intellectual potential of the nation was diverted from its proper purpose into the destruction of the system, not the creation of spiritual treasures. In this struggle talent degenerated, gifts were wasted, and projects turned to dust.

In Soviet totalitarian society censorship could not be anything but a mighty hindrance to social, cultural and economic development. Attempts to reintroduce censorship or to justify it prove that democracy has not yet become the norm for Russian society and that the power of the state still does not guarantee constitutional rights and the freedom of the individual.

Translated from Russian by Jenny Brine

The Manipulation of the Polish Book Market 1944–89: A Study of the Preconditions for the Development of the Consumer-Led Market of the 1990s

Janet Zmroczek

Introduction

The paper looks at the development of the book market in Poland in the Communist period with a view to providing a historical framework for understanding the state of the book market in Poland today. It analyses ideological interpretations of the concept of the book market in the PRL (the People's Republic of Poland) and their application, highlighting the problems which resulted from attempts to deny the importance of market forces, which were deemed incompatible with the socialisation of culture. It examines the nature of publishing, bookselling and relations between writers and readers in the resulting system. The role of popular literature during this period is considered as the most acute example of consumer-led culture's attempts to survive in a hostile environment. The final section of the paper shows the cyclical nature of debates about the commercialisation of culture which contribute to the current failure of interested parties to come up with a model for a new publishing policy for Poland in the 1990s.

The Concept of the Book Market in the PRL

Dr Cybulski's 1981 definition¹ of the book market as the totality of book buyers and booksellers, including publishers, wholesalers, bookshops and other retailers, and both individual and corporate book buyers, is hardly controversial, but the concept of the book market in Poland before 1989 was by no means a neutral or indisputable one, shaped as it was by changes in the ideological climate. This is particularly true when it comes to looking at the matrix of relationships between these participants.

In capitalist systems, market mechanisms serve as regulators of the production and circulation of books for a general readership, but in Poland after 1945, publishing was destined to become a fundamental element in the socialisation and institutionalisation of culture in which market mechanisms had no place. The first part of this paper seeks to analyse the causes of the basic mismatch throughout the communist era between supply and demand on the Polish book market. The purpose of re-examining this historical background

¹ Radosław Cybulski, 'Studies of the Book Market and Studies on Readership', in *International Seminar: Books and Library [sic] in Society. Warsaw–Radziejowice, 15–21 June 1980* (Warsaw, 1980), p. 1.

is to establish whether the problems which arose were the result of simple mismanagement or a fundamentally flawed system which impacts on the book market in Poland today.

In the early years of Communist power, in order to meet the enormous hunger for books and other reading matter resulting from the rebuilding of the educational, industrial and institutional infrastructure after the devastation of WWII and the successful campaign to combat illiteracy, it became obvious that it would be necessary to reach some sort of temporary accommodation with existing private pre-war publishers in order to make use of their expertise and technical and material resources. As an interim measure some elements of private publishing would have to be allowed to continue their operations. Private book publishers represented far less a danger than private press barons. Thus early efforts were concentrated on institutionalising the press, while free market principles in book publishing were allowed to survive for some 4–5 years after the Communists came to power,² subject only to gradual elimination. However the authorities and their spokespersons never lost sight of this paradox and were vituperative in their attacks on the perceived evils of private publishing. In 1948 Bromberg described the situation thus: ‘at the moment the book is the only essential item without a regulated maximum price . . . the market is governed by the laws of supply and demand with all the elements of capitalist chaos’.³ Even the terminology used sought to highlight the discrepancy between old and new ideologies: in the same year, 1948, the word ‘market’ or *rynek* in the publishing or bookselling context was considered unacceptable, a dirty word tainted with all the associations of capitalist exploitation. It was rapidly replaced by the term *ruch wydawniczy*,⁴ meaning ‘publishing movement’ and thus implying ‘participation’ in culture, distancing publishing from capitalism and all its evils.

The actual process by which almost total control was achieved during the period 1944–49 is the subject of Kondek’s excellent book, *Władza i wydawcy*.⁵ Thereafter, the production and circulation of books was no longer subject to the usual forces of supply and demand but to the programme needs of the ruling Communist Party which harnessed publishing along with all other aspects of cultural life to ensure the maintenance of political power. Instead of striving for financial profit, publishing was to function, according to Anna Kamieńska, as ‘a guarantor of the prevailing political system’.⁶ Profit was to be purely political and ideological: ‘the book became a weapon in the class struggle . . .’

² Adam Bromberg, *Książki i wydawcy* (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 7–23.

³ Adam Bromberg, ‘Zagadnienia planowania wydawniczego’, *Nowe drogi*, 7, 1948, p. 96.

⁴ Stanisław Adam Kondek, *Władza i wydawcy* (Warsaw, 1958), p. 17.

⁵ Kondek (note 4).

⁶ Anna Kamieńska, ‘Głos w dyskusji o czytelnictwie’, *Kuźnica*, 1948, nr. 25, p. 5.

with 'content which addressed itself to the building of socialism'.⁷ As a result, for the first fifteen years or so of the new order in Polish publishing, it was the prerogative of the state to dictate to readers what their needs and wishes should be, rather than asking them what they actually were. From the late 1950s onwards journalists, publicists and academics, aware of the pitfalls of this approach, tried, with varying degrees of success, to influence the authorities to take into account the actual needs and wishes of readers, to bring about a readers' or buyers' market as opposed to a publishers' or sellers' market.⁸

Outline of the Publishing Industry 1950–89

Whilst the Polish industry was never as 'perfect' as the Soviet model, until the development of the *drugi obieg* or 'second circulation' of independent publishing in 1976, the authorities penetrated all aspects of the publishing industry ranging from control of content by means of censorship and patronage to regulation of the technical and economic aspects of the industry. Kondek classifies the methods used as 'directive', e.g. commands, prohibitions and sanctions, and 'parametric', e.g. distribution of paper resources, access to printing works and the regulation of distribution systems.⁹

The first half of the 1950s was the period of the heaviest control of the publishing industry. The first five-year plan strove for centralisation and reduced the number of publishers to around thirty, to facilitate control. This was exercised from 1951 onwards by the Centralny Urząd Wydawnictw, Przemysłu Graficznego i Księgarstwa (Central Office of Publishing, the Typographical Industry and Bookselling). The aim was to have just one publisher in any particular field such as Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne for music and Nasza Księgarnia for children's books. This eliminated competition and minimal effort was required to prevent duplication. However due to the many opposing practical and ideological demands made of the newly organised industry in the early fifties, despite record high print-runs, consumer demand was not met. The hunger for Polish classics remained and attempts to fill this gap included highly subsidised series such as the Biblioteka Prasy, available only to those who subscribed to Party newspapers. Huge subsidies made the running of publishing on an economic footing impossible—books often cost less than the paper on which they were printed: a novel cost the equivalent of two packets of cigarettes, an academic work, four. The attempt to decommercialise culture put too great a strain on resources, as did huge runs of propaganda material which nobody wanted to read. The thirteen-volume works of Stalin, for example, were published in a print-run of 1,800,000, whilst school textbooks and

⁷ Stefan Zółkiewski, *O kulturze Polski Ludowej* (Warsaw, 1964), p. 132.

⁸ See, for example, Witold Adamiec, 'Coraz dalej od książki', *Tygodnik kulturalny*, 5, 1981, p. 7.

⁹ Kondek (note 4), p. 16.

scientific and technical textbooks vital for the reconstruction programme were in acutely short supply.

The situation began to change in 1956 when, in the climate of the post-Stalinist thaw, cultural policy had to be re-examined. New and more realistic paper, printing and postal charges were introduced, leading to an increase in book prices of *ca* 40%.¹⁰ Publishers no longer had the guarantee, from 1958, that their entire production would be bought by the state wholesaler. As a result the period 1957–61 saw a levelling off in output, due in part to some curtailment of the huge runs of propaganda. In terms of content of publishing there was greater diversification—a growth in the number of history and economics texts and a flowering of new subjects such as sociology and psychology.

Decentralisation allowed the development of publishing houses outside the centres of Warsaw and Krakow and links were once again possible with the outside world via bookfairs, the buying of rights from abroad, etc. Publishers were encouraged to take a more creative interest in their work, to seek out new writers and to identify or commission new quality texts, though all, of course, within various strict limits. However, the 1960s began with the lowest book production statistics since the war.¹¹ While paying lip service to the importance of literature in society, the authorities did little to improve production in real terms. Writers such as Górski, Hertz, Rudnicki and Wańkowicz, who signed a letter of complaint to Cyrańkiewicz in 1964—the famous *List 34*¹²—criticising the pitiful production statistics and the heavy-handed censorship, later had trouble publishing their works. Cosmetic attempts were made to bolster production figures by increasing the number of titles but at the expense of numbers of copies. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw criticism from all quarters of the lack of availability of books and the failure of government policy to satisfy reader demand. A major reappraisal of future policy was clearly needed and some commentators greeted the decision to dissolve the Centralny Urząd Wydawnictw and replace it in 1970 with the Zjednoczenie Przedsiębiorstw Wydawniczych, Naczelny Urząd Wydawniczy, as a positive step towards improved running of the publishing industry. The Zjednoczenie Przedsiębiorstw Wydawniczych had as its brief to monitor, coordinate and direct the whole area of publishing including the drawing up of publisher profiles, forecasts, policies for reprints and translations, adjustment of plans better to meet the need of schools and higher educational institutions and to raise the standards of editorial work. In practice, contrary to the desires of the pub-

¹⁰ Lucjan Biliński, *Zarys rozwoju ruchu wydawniczego w Polsce Ludowej* (Warsaw, 1977), p. 25.

¹¹ For more information about output figures see Maria Czarnowska, 'Dynamika ilościowego rozwoju książki polskiej 1944–73: zestawienie retrospektywne', in *Ruch wydawniczy w liczbach 1944–75* (Warsaw, 1975), pp. 7–13.

¹² See Jerzy Eisler's monograph on the subject, *List 34* (Warsaw, 1993), and Marta Fik's article, 'My, niżej podpisanej', *Nowa Respublica*, 5 (68), maj 1994, pp. 21–25.

lishers for greater autonomy, the new organisational structure brought greater centralisation in decision-making.

1972 was UNESCO International Year of the Book and, shamed by Poland's appearance in last place in the table of book production in the socialist bloc, as predicted by Skórnicki at a meeting of the Polskie Towarzystwo Wydawców Książek the year before, ambitious plans were announced to rectify the situation. For 1972–4, 30 million convertible złoty were designated for new printing equipment. The 5-year plan for 1971–5 envisaged an increase in copies published of over 50% from the 535 million published in 1966–70.¹³ This was to be achieved by the building of new printing works at Poznań, Radom and Gdańsk and the modernisation of existing plants. In 1972 book production amounted to 3.5 copies per head of the population per year—by 1975 this was nearly to double.¹⁴ The plan envisaged complete satisfaction of reader demand by 1980. Extra paper would be allocated for reprints of classic and contemporary literature which in 1972 accounted for only 25% of all titles published. In 1973 new agreements were drawn up between printers and publishing houses and between booksellers and publishers in an attempt to introduce greater mutual accountability.¹⁵ It was well-known that despite the so-called paper shortage printing houses were often unable to meet publishers' deadlines as they were too busy printing colourful packaging for export goods. It was planned to draw up a list of literary works in constant demand and to try to ensure their permanent availability. However by the mid-seventies there was little sign of dramatic improvement.

In his detailed analysis of the successes and failures of Polish publishing policy in the 1970s, Witold Adamiec¹⁶ drew attention to the fundamental failings of publishing in this period, highlighting the constant failure of publishing output to keep up with the promises made by the policymakers, the lack of accountability of publishers to readers' actual needs and Poland's regression in terms of output in comparison with other countries. In the period 1955–70, publishing output in the USA grew by a factor of six, in Czechoslovakia and France it doubled, but in Poland it multiplied by one-and-a-half times only. In 1980 overall book production in terms of titles was only 14% higher and in terms of copies only 12% higher than in 1971. The failure to meet the demand for children's books was a particular cause for concern, and in 1979 33% fewer children's titles were published than in 1971. The poor repertoire

¹³ Jan Okopień, 'Ruch wydawniczy 1972', *Rocznik literacki*, 1974, p. 595.

¹⁴ Okopień (note 13).

¹⁵ See, for example, Jan Okopień, 'Naczynia połączone', *Kultura* (Warsaw), 10, 1974, p. 10, and 'Wciąż jeszcze głód książki', *Litery*, 11, 1973, p. 3.

¹⁶ Witold Adamiec, 'O dostępności książki w latach siedemdziesiątych', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, XVII–XVIII, 1981–2, pp. 133–157. This was written in response to a relatively upbeat article by Witold Stańkiewicz and Stanisław Siekierski, 'Kształtowanie się polityki wydawniczej w minionym trzydziestoleciu', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, X, 1974, pp. 77–105.

was not compensated for by high print-runs.

There had been high hopes that the demand for books might, in part, be met with the help of cheap paperback series which were hailed in the 1960s and early '70s as a potential saviour of the industry.¹⁷ However, the successful implementation of a paperback publishing programme was scuppered by the traditional inadequacies of the system: low print-runs, painfully slow printing cycles and no speedy system for reprints.¹⁸ Some of the series which were published were of dubious merit, but others were far more ambitious such as the Biblioteka Klasyki Polskiej i Obcej which was published jointly by PIW, Wydawnictwo Literackie and Czytelnik. The publishing of joint series had been given a high profile, and in 1971, 21 titles were published in this series in 1,150,000 copies. This was repeated in the following year. However, the project was an example of gigantism whose fate was linked inseparably to the 'doctrine of success'. It ultimately failed in its attempts to publish 400 titles due to a lack of binding materials. Despite criticism from some quarters about a lack of focus in the series, it was an example of an attempt to meet readers' real needs which was thwarted in the usual way by the inadequacies of the system. Many titles in popular series were published in such small print-runs that libraries and individual readers were in direct competition for them. Belles-lettres were frequently published in tiny print-runs of less than 500. Only 50 books per year had a print-run of 100,000 and an average print-run of 10,000 would satisfy the requirements of libraries only, so in order to make books available to the public on any meaningful scale the print-run would have had to be considerably higher.¹⁹

If the 1970s were difficult years for publishing, the crisis came to a head in 1981 when production fell back to the levels of the 1960s. Children's books were almost unobtainable from 1979 to 1981. The much vaunted excuse of the paper shortage was frequently used but rarely believed. In 1981 at the highly critical IV Plenum of the Zarząd Główny of the Stowarzyszenie Księgarzy Polskich (Polish Booksellers' Association) the myth was roundly attacked: 'Only 5% of the paper used in the country goes on books with 10–11% used for newspapers and magazines. We have been promised that a radical undertaking to use less paper will be made in other areas of the national economy, especially in the administration. It has been promised that the Minister of Culture and Arts will have sole responsibility for paper and it will be he who redistributes any savings in paper. So far nothing has come of these

¹⁷ See for example Biliński (note 10), p. 34.

¹⁸ See examples of the debates about production cycles in *Poligrafika*: Zygmunt Stolarski, 'Cykl produkcji książek', *Poligrafika* 8, 1958, pp. 19–23, and Roman Tomaszewski, 'Cykl produkcyjny książek literatury pięknej', *Poligrafika*, 3, 1962, pp. 19–21.

¹⁹ Jan Okopień, 'Ruch wydawniczy 1971', *Rocznik literacki*, 1973, p. 562.

promises.’²⁰ A black market in sought-after books thrived, with some titles fetching ten times their cover price.

As a result of the crisis in publishing, it was decided in the early '80s to increase dramatically the print-runs of all books and especially children's books. In order further to disguise the crisis, huge numbers of *broszury* were published on poor-quality newsprint, with shamefully poor standards of graphic design. These would often include just one short story or essay but served to boost statistics of titles published. Slim volumes of poetry in low print-runs were another easy way to massage production figures. Meanwhile, nothing was done to tackle fundamental problems.

Despite the crisis in publishing in 1981, the official publishing houses were responsible for noteworthy books in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Previously banned emigré writers such as Gombrowicz, Miłosz, Wierzyński and Hłasko who had been forced to publish abroad or underground were reclaimed as classics and published by the state houses.²¹ The later 1980s saw a major change in the nature of publishing output as state publishers, financially squeezed by the introduction of the policy of *samofinansowanie się* (self-financing), began to abandon so-called 'serious' literature in order to publish popular literature where the real profits were to be made. Due to a lack of foreign currency to pay for rights few translations were published by the state houses, but this gap was soon filled by pirates who cared nothing for international conventions.

Despite the clear failings of the state publishing system and the emergence of a highly organised and successful counter-system of underground publishing, Party thinking exhibited the mentality of an ostrich with its head in the sand, reiterating the supposition that the '*ruch wydawniczy* is the chief element of the ideological front'²² rather than formulating serious proposals for a radical rethink of publishing policy.

Outline of Bookselling, 1944–89

Having provided a brief sketch of the publishing industry to 1989, I can now go on to examine the question of how the product of this industry reached, or did not reach, its intended audience, by giving an outline of the book-selling industry over the same period. In the years 1944–49 the bookselling industry rapidly revived and reestablished itself. The state encouraged the development of 'cooperative bookshops' but they existed side by side with private booksellers. However in 1949 the decision was taken to nationalise the whole bookselling industry and from 1950 onwards all bookshops were part

²⁰ 'O radykalną poprawę sytuacji książki i księgarstwa', *Księgarz*, nr. 1, 1981, p. 3.

²¹ For an evaluation of what was published at this time, see Maria Danielewicz-Zielińska, 'Intermezzo', *Kultura*, 6/417, 1982, pp. 13–25.

²² 'Ideowo-polityczna odpowiedzialność wydawców', *Trybuna Ludu*, nr. 48, 1984.

of the state enterprise Dom Książki.²³ Private booksellers were squeezed out of the market by a variety of measures culminating in the denial of access to newly published material from the state-run wholesaler, the Składnica Księgarska. The basic flaw of the newly centralised system was that Dom Książki bought the entire print-run of every book on the day it came out and therefore, whether the book sold or not was of no interest to the publisher. Writing in the journal *Księgarz* in 1957 at the time of the post-Stalinist thaw, Stanisław Maławski described the situation thus: 'this is an organisation which indiscriminately buys the entire "market production" of the state and cooperative publishing enterprises. This type of artificially created situation in our conditions has weighed heavily on the . . . development of bookselling.'²⁴ The value of books lying unsold in bookshops and storerooms was estimated to be twice that of books sold.²⁵ At the Plenum of the governing body of the Składnica Księgarska in 1957 demands were made that publishers should produce books 'at their own expense and at their own risk'.²⁶ It was not until 1958 that publishers became responsible for the risks in deciding which titles to publish and the size of print-runs. Booksellers at last had only to worry about selling the number of copies they had actually ordered from the central wholesaler who in turn took books from the publishers on a sale-or-return basis.²⁷ After 1956, Radosław Cybulski was one of the main proponents of the need to rehabilitate the concept of the book market in order that bookselling could better fulfil its cultural and social function.²⁸ In a polemic with Kazimierz Malicki's article²⁹ designating bookselling as 'Culture and not only commerce', he wrote: 'So what's the problem with this commerce? We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the commercial affinities of bookselling are entirely honourable and nothing to be ashamed of . . . we must use the terms "book market", "book trade" and "sales" without embarrassment . . . the book is an unusual commodity which is why the techniques of the book trade must be perfected in order to improve the effective dissemination of culture.'³⁰ Cybulski was also a vociferous supporter of the need to establish proper, academically sound, market research techniques for the book market.³¹ He differentiated how-

²³ See Biliński (note 10), pp. 111–112, and Stanisław Maławski, 'Przemiany strukturalne księgarstwa w Polsce Ludowej', *Księgarz*, nr. 1, 1957, pp. 4–7.

²⁴ Stanisław Maławski, 'Przemiany strukturalne księgarstwa w Polsce Ludowej (cz. 2)', *Księgarz*, nr. 2, 1957, p. 40.

²⁵ Stańkiewicz (note 16), p. 85.

²⁶ 'Uchwała Plenum ZG SKP z dnia 13 Września 1957', *Księgarz*, nr. 2, 1957 (front cover).

²⁷ Krystyna Gołębiowska, *Organizacja księgarstwa państwowego w PRL w latach 1950–79: praca magisterska*, Instytut Bibliotekoznawstwa i Informacji Naukowej UW [nr. albumu 90] (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 72–3.

²⁸ Radosław Cybulski, 'Rynek księgarski—ale jaki', *Księgarz*, nr. 23/4, 1959, pp. 2–3.

²⁹ Kazimierz Malicki, 'Kultura i nie tylko handel', *Księgarz*, nr. 4, 1963, pp. 46–7.

³⁰ Radosław Cybulski, 'Kompleks biednego krewnego', *Księgarz*, nr. 2, 1964, pp. 79–80.

³¹ See, for example, Radosław Cybulski, *Popyt na rynku księgarskim na tle przemian społeczno-*

ever between market research in capitalist countries, which sought to increase profit levels, and those in socialist countries, which would be more concerned with issues of quality and better satisfying reader demand in the interests of cultural development.³² The 1960s and '70s saw a massive increase in the number of bookshops—from 1106 in 1958 to almost double that in 1979 (2030).³³ Much concern was expressed in the professional and popular press about the need for a more active approach to sales of books, particularly to people in the countryside with limited access to good bookshops.³⁴ A variety of initiatives were launched including a number of rural bookclubs, book lovers' circles, etc.

A useful summary of the basic problems faced by booksellers can be found in the conclusion of Krystyna Gołębiowska's doctoral thesis of 1980:

1. The Zjednoczenie Księgarskie asked for *ca* 1600–2000 titles per annum to be reprinted, but in fact only 20% of these requests were realised;
2. Limits to print-runs due to lack of paper or printing facilities led to a loss of *ca* 400 million zł. per year;
3. Print-runs for material in very low demand still often exceeded all possibilities of sales;
4. Only 45% of titles were published on time as a result of which readers often lost interest.³⁵

As a result of these shortcomings, in the case of sought-after books, booksellers regularly received only a small proportion of the number of copies they actually asked for, leading to bookshops being constantly criticised for lacking attractive new stock. Distribution was a constant problem with these limited numbers of desirable books often being sent to the area least in need of them.

Gołębiowska's findings duplicate almost entirely the results of a survey carried out amongst writers in late 1971 and early 1972 by *Życie Literackie* under the title 'The writer—the reader—the critics', which repeated *ad infinitum* writers' dissatisfaction with the policy on reprints, along with excessively long production schedules, paper shortages and outmoded printing works which meant that even after acceptance by a publisher they could wait years to see their works in print.

Complaints about the need for the size of print-runs to be more clearly related to the marketability of books were closely linked to those about the restrictive policy on reprints, which often meant that even if the author of a bestseller was promised a reprint it would often not appear until the public

gospodarczych w Polsce Ludowej (Warsaw, 1966).

³² Radosław Cybulski, *Książka współczesna* (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 16–33.

³³ Gołębiowska (note 27), pp. 86, 133.

³⁴ See, for example, Stanisław Siekierski, *Książka literacka* (Warsaw, 1992), pp. 287–292.

³⁵ Gołębiowska (note 27), p. 137.

had almost entirely lost interest in it. In general, reprints were seen as a carrot waved before particularly obedient servants of the regime. Elżbieta Morawiec describes how this applied to Władysław Machejek: 'suffice it to say that frequently, a high print-run of one of his books had no sooner gone for pulping, almost in its entirety, than the author would be signing a contract for the reprint.'³⁶ According to an analysis by Stanisław Siekierski³⁷ of titles sent for pulping between 1945 and 1983, based on the records of the Składnica Księgarska, 26,483 titles were pulped and 16,727 reduced in price. It should be borne in mind that often only remainders of print-runs were pulped and no data is available for actual numbers of copies which met this fate, yet it is still worth noting that at a time when books were a deficit item, *ca* 10% of the total titles published had part or all of their print-run pulped. 68% of these titles were those published before 1957.

It is not unreasonable to assert therefore that probably the most characteristic feature of the book market in the PRL was a total mismatch between publishing output and reader needs and demand: a mismatch in both quantitative and qualitative terms. This is not to totally undermine the achievements of the system: the rebuilding of a devastated publishing industry after the war, the successes of the literacy campaign, the subsidising of scholarly publications which meant that they could be published at affordable prices, and the absence of pornography and tabloid-style scandal-mongering in the press. Yet the Communist system appeared unable to come up with any viable alternative to the market mechanism to ensure that the output of the publishing industry would find a reader.

Relationships Within the Book Market

Having looked at both the publishing and bookselling industries it is now possible to look at more complicated questions about the nature of the book market, namely the nature of the relationships between publishers, writers and readers. I do not intend to enter theoretical debates about the reception of literature and the creative role of the reader,³⁸ but rather to point out the practical problems which arose in the absence of normal market conditions. Janusz Lalewicz in 1976 stated: 'the production and circulation of books has features of the market and imposes roles connected with the exchange of goods on the participants in the process of communication. One can hardly be a writer without becoming at the same time a supplier of texts for the publishing industry and the producer of a product launched onto the market; it is impossible to be a reader of literature without having become first a consumer of the product of

³⁶ Elżbieta Morawiec, 'W Życiu (Literackim) i po Życiu', *Arka*, 37–38 (1), 1992, p. 107.

³⁷ Siekierski (note 34), p. 298.

³⁸ For a recent example of this type of discussion, see Janusz Dunin, 'Literatura–natura–rynek', *Teksty drugie*, 3, 1994, 137–144.

the publishing industry'.³⁹ Yet for many years, by attempting to negate the role of market forces and failing to come up with any viable alternative regulatory mechanism, the Polish book market functioned in a way which distorted the relationship between writers, readers, publishers and critics. The market was unable to play its essential role in ensuring that material which nobody wants to read is not published. One of the most obvious ways for a writer to assess his or her success is the number of copies sold—but due to limits on the size of print-runs and an inefficient distribution system even this most primitive of indicators failed to be meaningful. Adam Komorowski, writing in the magazine *Student* in 1981 about contemporary literature, stated: 'For the first time in Polish history the debutante finds himself [*sic*] certain of success Such is the unsatisfied demand for books, and especially for contemporary Polish prose, that the book market is in a position to devour every book. . . . the disappearance of a . . . market as a gauge of contact with the reader is leading to the complete salving of the authors' conscience' ⁴⁰

In this situation the author ceases to have any reason for responding to readers' demands, wishes and desires. The relationship between writers and critics was also distorted. To quote again from Komorowski: 'Literary criticism has become accustomed to acting in opposition to the hierarchies formed by the market, but at the moment when these hierarchies completely fail to act, deprived of one of its major points of reference it feels less sure of itself.' ⁴¹ When the works reviewed by the critics are, in reality, often unobtainable for the majority of potential readers, criticism can lose its *raison d'être* and, deprived of the verificatory role of the market, assume too important a role in literary life which becomes dominated by cliques and coteries. This was particularly dangerous in Poland before 1989, where what was published and what could be reviewed was dictated by political appointees. Paradoxically, of course, to the sophisticated reader used to reading between the lines, a poor review was often a sign that the work was likely to be worth reading. This essentially flawed matrix of relationships lies at the at the base of many of the problems which afflicted the book market in the PRL.

The Contemporary Situation of Reading, the Debate about High and Popular Culture and the Role of Popular Literature

Outside the conference room one does not have to go far to see how book-selling has become a successful commercial venture, with bookshops supplemented by street stalls selling cookery books and dictionaries, romantic and detective fiction, adventure blockbusters translated from English. Clearly the

³⁹ Janusz Lalewicz, *Literatura w epoce masowej komunikacji* (Wrocław, 1976), pp. 98–9.

⁴⁰ Adam Komorowski, 'Egoizm i terażniejszości', *Student*, 1981, cited by Marta Fik in *Kultura polska po 1945* (London, 1989), p. 649.

⁴¹ Adam Komorowski, 'Literatura rynku pozbawiona', *Zdanie*, 1982, nr. 1, pp. 33–34.

onslaught of television/video culture and the tragic decline of public libraries due to lack of state support has not resulted in the decline in reading so often predicted. In fact, Jadwiga Kołodziejska states in a recent article that whereas in 1985 41% of the population read no books at all, in 1992 this had fallen to 29%.⁴² The wider availability of popular, light recreational literature has obviously had a positive effect in encouraging reading, but concern is widespread about the lack of other choices currently on offer. Andrzej Rosner, Director of the Department of Books and Reading at the Ministry of Culture and Arts, supports the opinion that popular literature has a positive effect in encouraging reading, but expresses concern that in country areas where the fate of library services has been particularly bleak there may be no other alternatives available.⁴³

Debates rage in the press about the decline of high culture, about the fate and relevance of the literary canon as taught in schools and about the need or otherwise for a national cultural policy. The issue of the book as an element of culture or as a commodity is very much alive in debates surrounding the free market in books in Poland today. A letter in *Tygodnik Powszechny* at the end of 1994 from a number of prominent literary figures laments the lack of visibility of contemporary Polish literature, particularly that by new young writers, on the current Polish book market amongst the sea of foreign literature in translation. 'A book market which functions only to support imported titles and doesn't introduce any new names itself, with time, becomes nothing more than a provincial "poor relation" on the world market, with nothing of its own to offer.'⁴⁴ Their suggestion that booksellers should more actively promote new Polish literature is attacked in an article by the private publisher and distributor Piotr Sz wajcer, who began his career in the underground publishing scene of the Solidarity era. In the 1960s and '70s, the press was full of claims from booksellers that they should be treated as a special case: 'Bookshops are not ordinary shops, the status of this branch of trade is far higher ... the bookseller does not simply trade in books ... he is the inspiration behind the organisation of the distribution of culture and education.'⁴⁵ Sz wajcer argues that in the realities of the '90s this case is no longer tenable. He commits what to some supporters of the 'cultural mission' theory of the book market constitutes the ultimate heresy: 'The book is, of course, a specific type of commodity, but it is subject to and must be subject to certain laws of the market in exactly the same way as margarine.'⁴⁶ Compare this, for example,

⁴² Jadwiga Kołodziejska, 'Reading and Libraries in Poland Today: Between Romantic Traditionalism and the Free Market', *International Information and Library Review*, 27, 1995, p. 50.

⁴³ 'Spada czytelnictwo, analfabetyzm jednak zanika', *Megaron*, 9, 1994, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁴ 'Do księgarzy polskich', *Tygodnik powszechny*, 51-52, 1994, p. 18.

⁴⁵ W. Kobusińska, 'Księgarskie dylematy', *Argumenty*, 24, 1977, p. 9.

⁴⁶ Piotr Sz wajcer, 'Apele i listy otwarte', *Notes wydawniczy*, 2, 1995, pp. 23-4.

with an article in the 1973 cultural journal *Litery*⁴⁷ which decried the notion that selling books was like selling carrots, or a similar theme in *Argumenty* which stated that books cannot be treated like linen or underwear.⁴⁸ Szwajcer stresses that bookselling is a business with all the same overheads as any other commercial enterprise and as such will stock those books which will sell most profitably and quickly.

Popular Literature in the PRL

Ken Worpole, a British writer on culture and literature, describing the British situation in the mid-1980s, wrote:

The notion that the publishing process—or rather the publishing industry—is a kind of ethically powered machine which spends most of its time idling, until somebody called a writer comes along clutching a unique text to feed into it is quite wrong. The presses are always running and the substantive work of publishing is deciding what to feed into them. A significant proportion of this production is devoted to popular literature . . . genre forms such as the detective novel, the heterosexual romance, the war novel, the historical family saga, the utopias and dystopias of science fiction and so on. Convention-bound and formulaic by definition, they fit more readily into the increasingly rationalised production process of the modern printing and publishing companies.⁴⁹

So, in the PRL, in the absence of market mechanisms and the consumer's power to influence publishing policy, did popular literature, a clear expression of a consumerist approach to literature, have a place in cultural policy? Which historical factors have played a role in making the Polish reader embrace with such enthusiasm the largely imported popular literature of the 1990s?

In the *Słownik literatury polskiej XX wieku*,⁵⁰ the entry for popular literature (*literatura obiegów popularnych*) characterises its post-war fate in Poland in four periods. From 1945 to 1948, inter-war patterns persisted, but from 1949 to 1956 the official view of popular literature was one of hardline disapproval. During this period it was viewed as ideologically harmful, summed up in the phrase *zła popularność*. Due to the institutionalisation of publishing during this period, popular literature survived only in a severely attenuated form. 1956–81 was characterised by the development of new types of popular literature influenced by other forms of mass culture, and from 1982 onwards the wider spread of popular literature can be traced.

In the immediate post-war period the main source of light reading for the masses, as in the pre-war era, remained serialised stories in newspapers. In

⁴⁷ *Litery* (note 15).

⁴⁸ M. Czerwiński, 'Księgarnie czy sklepy z książkami', *Argumenty*, 11, 1973, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Ken Worpole, *Reading by Numbers* (London, 1984), p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Słownik literatury polskiej XX wieku* (Wrocław, 1992), pp. 577–587.

an attempt to win readers of this type of literature over to a more politically acceptable diet of light reading, in Katowice, centre of Polish heavy industry, in 1946 it was decided to revitalise the pre-war Łódź weekly *Co tydzień powieść*.⁵¹ I have decided to devote some time to examining this magazine because it illustrates two features with important ramifications for publishing as a whole in the PRL: firstly that of taking into account the demands of readers, and secondly the debate amongst the literary establishment as to whether popular light literature for the purposes of entertainment deserved to be published at all.

The first issue of *Co tydzień powieść* contained the following statement of intent:

We come to the reader with the most sincere desire to give him [*sic*] interesting, fascinating, light literature, free from ingredients such as pornography and the encouragement of criminal behaviour which were the order of the day until 1939. We know that our task will not be easy, but we believe that our readers will cooperate with us, sharing their opinions and expressing their desires.⁵²

The editorial board were true to their word and took seriously the task of researching and responding to readers' comments and preferences, publishing letters both of praise and criticism, and taking these responses into account when selecting new stories for publication. *Co tydzień powieść* aimed to combine entertainment with education and therefore 'literary' writers like Balzac, Dostoevskii, Jack London and Tolstoi peppered the more standard adventure, detective and other popular genres. With far more translations than original Polish stories they did not strive for realism or relevance to everyday life; they provided escapist light entertainment with a considerable degree of success. However from 1948 as political conformity was imposed more rigorously on all spheres of cultural life, the editors of *Co tydzień powieść* began to wind down this interchange with its readers, bowing to Party demands for more ideologically correct content. Gradually adventure, sensation and escapism were forced to give way to political didacticism and the *przygoda produkcyjna* (production adventure).⁵³ In this altered form *Co tydzień powieść* lasted only for another year, closing in 1949.

From the beginning, certain parts of the literary establishment had been at war with the very concept of using precious paper and printing facilities for such a low-brow purpose. Zdzisław Hierowski writing in *Odra* in 1946 complained:

⁵¹ Jerzy Jastrzębski includes a chapter on this magazine in his *Czas relaksu: o literaturze masowej i jej okolicach* (Wrocław, 1982), pp. 97–135. As I was unable to locate the original texts in London or Warsaw, the references cited in notes 52, 54, 55 and 56 are taken from Jastrzębski's book.

⁵² *Co tydzień powieść*, 1, 1946.

⁵³ Jastrzębski (note 51), p. 129.

Until recently, be it due to a lack of paper or other reasons, we were protected against the return of the plague of pre-war fiction weeklies . . . now we are going back to pre-war habits of bombarding the simple reader with the worst sensational rubbish, given to him to read in hideous jargon and monstrous style . . . before the war this activity was the province of speculators and grafters and who is doing it today? Why, the Literatura Polska publishing house in Katowice.⁵⁴

The editors of *Co tydzień powieść* tried to defend their position, publishing letters and commentaries justifying their approach. Helena Szpyrkówna wrote:

. . . the lack of adventure in grey everyday existence results in mass demand for exciting reading which is all the greater the more a lack of excitement is felt in the prevailing reality. Reading exciting books is a substitute for experience. It is essential for the psychological well-being of the masses in no less degree than the necessity of vitamins for physical well-being.⁵⁵

It was suggested that rather than carping about the content, if established Polish writers were truly concerned about the literary standards of the magazine they would do better to submit their own works for publication there, rather than to 'elitist' publishing houses whose books were far beyond the pocket of the ordinary worker.

Yet many remained unconvinced. Przyboś asserted that the 'official at the Ministry of Propaganda who allocated the paper and a licence to print *Co tydzień powieść* should be held responsible for cultural damage'.⁵⁶

I consider this magazine to be an important example because it highlights the perennial question of whether an intellectual elite can or should try to adopt a paternalistic approach to the cultural development of the masses. Its rapid demise after giving in to political pressures also demonstrates the naivety and lack of political imagination, which abounded at the time, in assuming that a cultural revolution can be orchestrated in the same way as the nationalisation of heavy industry.

The closure of *Co tydzień powieść* heralded the leanest period for popular literature which lasted from 1949 to 1956, when, as Siekierski points out, 'Literature intended for leisure reading was now deemed to be politically harmful'.⁵⁷ Attempts were made to brainwash readers into feeling guilty about reading popular literature by attaching to it the reputation of being somehow unseemly. The main escape route from a diet of contemporary socialist realism was via the perennial favourite amongst popular genres—the historical novel of romance and/or adventure. This genre afforded far more freedom to raise issues relating to Polish historical identity and fate, taking into account

⁵⁴ Zdzisław Hierowski in *Odra*, 36, 1946.

⁵⁵ Helena Szpyrkówna, *Co tydzień powieść*, 51, 1946.

⁵⁶ Julian Przyboś, *Odrodzenie*, 26, 1946.

⁵⁷ Siekierski (note 34), p. 417.

the impact of various patriotic and democratic groupings, than was allowed in writings on contemporary issues. An interesting example of this genre is the case of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, not part of the literary canon as laid down by the educational system or the critics, but as Siekierski puts it 'a suprainstitutional myth'⁵⁸ created at the end of the nineteenth century and passed on from generation to generation. But even with the post-Stalinist thaw, 'high' and 'mass' culture were to a great extent perceived as being in opposition, mass culture being viewed by intellectuals as an unworthy recipient of limited funds and resources. As Żabski points out, one explanation for this attitude is the threat which popular literature can be perceived to present to the establishment:

It is the reader himself who is the all-powerful lord and master of popular literature. He knows what he likes, has his own system of artistic values, his preferences and favourites. He doesn't care what the critics have to say, he prefers the advice of friends, of ordinary readers like himself as to what to read next. And what is more, it is he who, by his purchases or votes, creates lists of bestsellers.⁵⁹

On the whole, avant-garde works praised for their innovative artistry by the critics seldom appealed to any more than a small part of the reading public, the majority of whom seek reading matter which accords more closely with their own life experiences or provides easy escapism from them. Ken Worpole's view is: 'popular literature makes more concessions to the reader than some might think desirable for literature, but that is precisely what makes it popular. It is a public rather than a private form of writing.'⁶⁰ Some writers such as Iwaszkiewicz, Hemingway and Dąbrowska did succeed in crossing the barrier between 'high' and popular literature, but such writers were few and far between.

Readership studies such as Kraśniewska's 1973 survey of contemporary books borrowed by women from the public library in Lublin, demonstrate the creation of alternative hierarchies by readers. Writers held by the critics to be the most influential in twentieth century literature are displaced by women writers such as Dąbrowska (*Noce i dni*), Drożdż-Satanowska (*Pod wiatr*) and Gojawiczyńska (*Dziewczęta z Nowolipek*).⁶¹

From the 1960s onwards, the pioneering work of the Antonina Kłoskowska⁶² in introducing the work of major Western cultural theorists,

⁵⁸ Siekierski (note 34), p. 318.

⁵⁹ Tadeusz Żabski, *Sposób bycia literatury popularnej w XX wieku* (unpublished conference paper given at Zjazd Polonistów held in Warsaw, May, 1995), p. 5.

⁶⁰ Worpole (note 49), p. 11.

⁶¹ Krystyna Kraśniewska, *Czytelnictwo kobiet* (Warsaw, 1973), p. 109.

⁶² See, for example, Antonina Kłoskowska, *Kultura masowa* (Warsaw, 1964), and *Spółeczne ramy kultury* (Warsaw, 1972).

began to persuade Polish scholars that mass culture was not necessarily a feature of bourgeois culture strictly at odds with socialist society. However, the influence of old ideas meant that, largely, popular literature remained on the peripheries of publishing priorities. As Kołodziejska states:

By promoting the pre-selected works of ideologically correct older and contemporary authors, the authorities deprived readers of other options at the same time as they created the illusion of readers' preferences for such authors and their rejection of light literature.⁶³

Poland was no different from the rest of the world in the development of gendered popular literature, that is, a degree of segregation between genres predominantly read by women and girls and those enjoyed by men and boys.⁶⁴ As far as male-oriented popular literature was concerned, the subject of wartime experiences and adventures enjoyed enormous success. In the late 1950s and early '60s the trend of *mały realizm*, the admixture of fiction with realistic prose closely tied to everyday life, had its effect on popular literature, for example the crime novels of Leopold Tyrmand set in central Warsaw. In the 1960s, as it became more acceptable to present the world outside the socialist bloc to the masses, travel writing and reportage appeared on the market with great success. Attempts to provide light reading from the late 1950s to the early 1980s included a number of series such as Iskra's crime series 'Klub Srebrnego Kluczyka' and MON's 'Labyrint' which published spy stories. Typically they were published on extremely poor quality paper with pitifully low standards of graphic design, purely as a money-making exercise, for it was known that due to the hunger for recreational literature, they would sell in spite of their poor quality. 1968 saw the arrival on the market of another Iskra crime series, 'Ewa wzywa 07', based on police records and marking a return to part-publishing, which had been so popular in pre-war Poland. So formulaic were the stories in literary terms that the names of writers were not even given, though this was not necessarily a sign that they were not worthy of mention—Janusz Głowacki, for example, being amongst their number. However they were ultimately disappointing because it was impossible to adapt the formulae used in Western crime fiction to Polish economic realities. Their didacticism and attempts to discredit and distance themselves from the evils of the capitalist West in the promotion of 'socialist morality' meant a blurring of their *raison d'être* as a genre. In the 1980s, despite the increasing proliferation of popular literature on the Polish market, a certain stigma was still attached to it. Even in the mid-eighties the official line was that in socialist societies 'contemporary writing is chosen especially for its discussion of important contemporary prob-

⁶³ Kołodziejska (note 42), p. 50.

⁶⁴ For an introduction to this question see Allan Luke's introduction to *Texts of Desire: Essays on Fiction, Femininity and Schooling*, edited by Linda K. Christian-Smith (London, 1993), pp. vii–xiii.

lems in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism', recreational literature being viewed as 'a necessary evil, lowering the ambitions of publishers but belonging to the realities of a readers' market'.⁶⁵

The Role of Romantic Fiction and Women as Readers

Perhaps the most extreme example of commercialism in the contemporary book market is the submission of Polish women readers to the embraces of the Harlequin romance. In the way they are produced, marketed and distributed these colour-coded, low-priced series of romantic fiction sold across the world are the ultimate example of the book as a consumer product. As Worpole points out, 'If there is one thing better for these companies than a single popular novel, it is a series or list of popular novels, all on the same theme'.⁶⁶

Depending on one's sources, between a third and a fifth of Polish women read a Harlequin regularly. Since beginning to publish in Poland in 1991, their market position has grown to embrace ca 85% of the romantic fiction market. Research carried out by the publishers themselves claims that that one in three Polish women read a Harlequin regularly, though this does not accord with a CBOS survey in 1993 which put the figure at ca 19%.⁶⁷ An interesting feature of the Polish Harlequin is that although all works are translated from English, the company took the step of employing many of the best Polish translators. As a result the translations are frequently far superior to the originals. Not only the language itself but also the text is changed, because it is felt that Polish women educated on a diet of 'good' literature do not need the 'everything-spelt-out approach' demanded by an American readership, and consequently editorial changes in the direction of greater subtlety are often made.

The expected debates rage around the Harlequin romance: Andrzej Rosner believes that they play a positive role in encouraging reading in the face of TV and video,⁶⁸ while others praise them for their upholding of traditional, conservative values of love within marriage and fidelity.⁶⁹ Opponents claim that the effect is altogether more negative: that Harlequin romances play on individuals' lack of fulfilment in real life, that they encourage a sense of dependency amongst gullible young women: 'The great tradition of literature as an expression of human uniqueness therefore becomes an endorsement for serial production, schematised in the extreme and almost authorless',⁷⁰ which according to Allan Luke is precisely what is intended:

⁶⁵ Cybulski (note 32), p. 305.

⁶⁶ Worpole (note 49), p. 1.

⁶⁷ From an interview with Sławomir Chojnacki, Chief Editor at Harlequin Poland, in *Megaron*, nr. 1, 1995, pp. 5–7, and a critical article in the same issue (pp. 7–9), 'Harlequin—poetyka i koniunktura'.

⁶⁸ *Megaron* (note 41).

⁶⁹ Kołodziejska (note 42), p. 53.

⁷⁰ *Megaron* (note 65), p. 7.

The culture industry creates in its own audience a sense of dependency on the continuance of its conventions, codes and messages. In this manner market demand is generated and sustained by the accessibility and ease with which cultural products can be consumed. Hence the need to produce further identical textual products . . . whereby appeal is manufactured, figures prominently in modern publishing. The related consumption does not satisfy need nor does it simply exhaust supply, but conversely generates greater wants for and output of similar standardised products.⁷¹

So how did Polish women satisfy their desire for romantic fiction before Harlequin? Romance, one of the most popular genres of the pre-war era, almost disappeared from 1945 to the mid-fifties. Writers such as Rodziewiczówna and Mniszkówna were cited as 'symbols of reaction and bad taste'.⁷² So sorely were they missed that there are reports of Mniszkówna's hugely successful *Trędowata* being circulated in handwritten form⁷³ as a sort of 'romantic samizdat'. When at least some of the less controversial (and some would say better) stories by Polish authors of romantic fiction were reprinted after 1956, they again enjoyed enormous success. As far as Rodziewiczówna is concerned, in 1956 five of her novels were published, in 1957 nine and in 1958 ten, on average in print-runs of over 40,000, which were large for the time.⁷⁴ A study of the reading habits amongst women employed in a large Warsaw textile factory in 1962 examined what women most liked to read in their spare time. The top five genres were as follows: romance—50%, crime fiction—43.3%, people and their lives long ago—26%, travel and other countries—23.8%, great people and heroes—20.8%. Kraśniewska observed that 'searching in literature for fulfilment of one's emotional life is a very characteristic premise in the set of motivations for women readers'.⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that this explanation of the appeal of the genre accords largely with the later analysis of the American romantic novel and its readership by feminist writers such as Janice Radway, who considered that for a US readership romantic novels address 'an intensely felt but insufficiently met need for emotional nurturance'.⁷⁶

More and less successful attempts to adapt the genre to the new socialist order of the PRL can be seen in the work of Stanisława Fleszarowa-Muskat, Krystyna Siesicka (writing mainly for young people), Magdalena Samozwaniec and Zofia Bystrzycka. However, such was the hunger for the old-style classic romances of Rodziewiczówna that even in the 1980s reprints

⁷¹ Allan Luke *Literacy, Textbooks and Ideology*, London, 1988, p. 67.

⁷² Siekierski (note 34), p. 417.

⁷³ *Słownik* (note 50), p. 583.

⁷⁴ Siekierski (note 34), p. 417.

⁷⁵ Kraśniewska (note 61), p. 54.

⁷⁶ Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1984), p. 119.

of her works sold out in huge print-runs. *Wzros*, republished in 1984–5, sold 800,000 copies.⁷⁷

There is much interesting work to be done in examining the impact of these Polish women writers on their readers in the specific social context of the PRL. Recent Western feminist studies of the romantic fiction genre have been characterised by two opposing threads. Firstly, those who view the genre as inherently dangerous, as the consolation which women find in such literature discourages them from 'using their discontent to raise a public voice against the inadequacies of a social structure which deprives women of both status and nurturance'.⁷⁸ The opposing view suggests that the pleasure derived from reading romantic literature deserves re-evaluation just like many other activities such as knitting and sewing, traditionally given low esteem because they are associated with women. Proponents of this view assert that women are aware that they are entering a fantasy world and do so for relaxation purposes.⁷⁹ The question of escapism needs to be further examined: firstly it can be argued that indeed all literature is to some extent a form of escapism, so why should popular literature be singled out for criticism on this basis? Secondly, whilst romantic fiction appears to be a 'way out' of everyday life and its problems for older women, studies of American schoolgirls have shown that they view the reading of romantic fiction as quite the opposite, namely a way *into* the adult world of relationships.⁸⁰ It would be interesting to discover to what extent Polish women readers duplicate the experiences of their British and American counterparts in this area.

Concluding Remarks

From the 1940s through to the 1980s similar complaints were voiced: that print-runs bore little relation to actual demand for books but were established for political reasons or for the ease of publishers who, due to the organisation of the distribution system, until the late 1950s had no interest in whether their books sold or not; that books were not available in the right numbers in the right places, be this a total lack of availability of books in some rural areas, or the failure to match supplies to bookshops to the profile of the readers in the area; and finally that decisions about what to publish were dictated by ideological considerations leading to huge print-runs of Communist Party propaganda bought (with no element of choice) by libraries and left to gather

⁷⁷ *Słownik literatury polskiej XX wieku* (note 50), p. 585.

⁷⁸ John Willinsky and R. Mark Hunniford, 'Reading the Romance Younger', in *Texts of Desire: Essays on Fiction, Femininity and Schooling*, edited by Linda K. Christian-Smith (London, 1993), pp. 87–105.

⁷⁹ See Yvonne Tasker on this interpretation, 'Having It All: Feminism and the Pleasures of the Popular', in *Off-Centre: Feminism and Cultural Studies*, edited by Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury and Jackie Stacey (London, 1991), p. 85.

⁸⁰ Willinsky (note 78).

dust, while textbooks vital to the education system were always in short supply and there was a constant shortage on the market of fiction, recreational reading material and children's books. The resulting starvation of the Polish populace of light fiction has led to its gorging on this material now. All these elements suggest that, however intensive the campaign to persuade him/her otherwise, the reader had a very good idea of what he/she wanted to read and when it was not available the palliatives dished out by the authorities failed to stifle this latent demand which lay dormant until the 1990s.

When discussing the shortcomings of the Polish book market, it would, however, be misleading to dwell on ideological factors to the exclusion of the basic structural defects of the state publishing system. In summary, a whole generation had grown up for whom books were a deficit item, who had been unable to obtain even essential school textbooks. This is clearly an example of gross mismanagement.

As far as bookselling is concerned, the same applies to a large extent. Booksellers were caught up in a system which placed them 'in the forefront of the ideological struggle',⁸¹ yet which rarely responded to their practical suggestions about the needs of their customers, expecting them to distribute unsatisfactory products which were forced upon them without taking into account their actual selling potential. One can only conclude that it is perhaps the legacy of a system in which ideological considerations could be blamed for practical failures which has led to the problems facing the Polish book market today.

In the new post-1989 era, publishers and booksellers have assumed a totally different role in the economy and in society as a whole, resulting in tension between traditionalists who still subscribe to the 'noble' perceptions of the book market of the past and the thousands of newcomers who see publishing and bookselling as a way to make money just like any other business. For example, as far as bookselling is concerned, Adamiec points out that the speculators of the 1980s who in the period of book hunger would go to any lengths including theft and bribery to acquire valuable merchandise are amongst those now profiting from the new market with distribution companies, their own shops, etc., while all those 'genuine booksellers who considered themselves to be workers not so much in commerce but "on the cultural front" have had themselves to become speculators, insofar as what, where and for how much to buy in order to sell as quickly as possible at maximum profit'.⁸²

If we turn to publishing we can find a definition which depicts two disparate groups seemingly at odds with each other. Boguta in an article in *Gazeta*

⁸¹ See, for example, references to the role of booksellers in realising the aims of cultural policy in Adam Bromberg, 'O polityce wydawniczej słów kilkoro', *Księgarz*, 8, 1958, pp. 182–3.

⁸² Witold Adamiec, 'Ogród francuski w dżungle przemieniony, czyli, Od polityki wydawniczej do chaosu', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, vol. XXVII–XXVIII, 1991–1992 (1993), p. 109.

wyborcza in 1991 distinguishes between 'producers of books'—people who have no policy but will print anything which will sell well, with no concern for the quality of translations or orthographical mistakes, and 'publishers'—those who publish difficult, worthwhile books by Polish authors.⁸³

Somehow, arguments about the future of the book market and publishing appear still to be framed by the mind-set of the past, despite the fact that this past is so discredited. Contemporary debates about 'high' and 'popular' culture, about the dangers of the commercialisation of culture, barely differ from those of fifty years ago. Take, for example, the following quote: 'Frequent instances . . . of the subordination of the publishing plan to the basis of immediate profitability have led to a complete block on publications of poetry, essays, academic subjects, history and theory . . . negligence in the publishing of the classics, and when it comes to translations and contemporary Polish authors, almost nothing but trash.'⁸⁴ This quotation, the substance of which has been repeated *ad infinitum* in the press since 1990, in fact dates from 1947, and comes from the journal *Kuźnica*, which was in the vanguard of the new Communist cultural policy.

A large part of the current problems appear to stem from three basic deficiencies. Firstly, a lack of essential knowledge amongst the participants in the industry of the ways in which their partners in the book market work. In a recent article in the specialist journal *Notes Wydawniczy*, Jolanta Walewska, herself a publisher, distributor and bookseller, makes exactly this point after attending a meeting for publishers: 'The statements made in Wrocław showed for the hundredth time how superficial mutual relations in the line publisher–wholesaler–bookseller really are and how little—in spite of close or, rather, intimate commercial relations—we know the rules and conditions under which our partners operate.'⁸⁵ The question is one of how to bring about better mutual understanding which is clearly linked to my second point, the lack of any coherent government policy or self-regulatory programme for the industry. In view of the less than cordial relations between the traditionalists and the newcomers as outlined above, self-regulation of the whole of the industry still seems a long way off. Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, there is the difficulty which many Polish intellectuals are experiencing in coming to terms with a supply and demand approach to culture.⁸⁶ Those who were only too anxious to throw off the shackles of a planned economy and a cultural policy based on subsidies and patronage are shocked by the extreme alternative of the Polish book market today. It is to be hoped that gradually a system for sup-

⁸³ 'Człowiek na kryzys', *Gazeta wyborcza*, nr. 162 13/14 lipca 1991, pp. 8–9.

⁸⁴ Stefan Zołkiewski, 'Aktualna problematyka literatury współczesnej', *Kuźnica*, 1947, nr. 49.

⁸⁵ Jolanta Walewska, 'Księgarz. A ktoż to jaki?', *Notes wydawniczy*, 3, 1995, p. 12.

⁸⁶ See Leszek Szaruga's discussion of this problem, 'Kultura ty, polska kultura', *Kultura*, 1–2 (556–7), 1994, pp. 24–29.

porting artistic and scholarly publishing will grow up to temper this cut-throat commercialism. Dr Cybulski has called for the development of stronger self-regulatory organisations along Western models for the Polish book industry,⁸⁷ and this is echoed by Witold Adamiec in his 1993 article 'A French Garden Turned into a Jungle, or: From Publishing Policy to Chaos'.⁸⁸ He calls for a 'constitution for the book' and acceptance by the government that, despite negative associations with past interventionist state cultural policies, it cannot simply withdraw from so vital an element of national culture.

One is forced to conclude that until all participants involved in the future and development of the Polish book market can cast off stereotypes inherited from the old regime, the same debates are likely to result in the same lack of answers.

⁸⁷ Radosław Cybulski, 'Siły społeczne w systemie książki', *Notes wydawniczy*, 11, 1994, pp. 22–25.

⁸⁸ Adamiec (note 82), pp. 99–121.

The Book Market in Post-Communist Countries, 1989–1994, using Poland as a Specific Example

Radosław Cybulski

The pace and nature of the changes which occurred in post-communist countries between 1989 and 1994 have produced a disorientation among observers of the book market, not least because of the lack of available data about the processes which affect that market. We do not have sufficiently precise information either on the number of participants, that is publishers, distributors, book stores or other sales points, or on the numbers of books published, or on the types of books purchased by individual readers and by libraries (for their own stock or for international exchange). In a word, we lack the data which is indispensable for an analysis of the market and its development. This paper will give specific data relating only to Poland. In other post-communist countries, the production and dissemination of books has followed a similar pattern, though differing in detail.¹

No-one has the experience to predict the course of transformation from a centralised system, subordinated to a single party and a single ideology, into a democratic system with free speech and a free market. In the present instance, the processes of transformation are occurring spontaneously, and are not steered. In the case of those post-communist countries whose fate for the following forty-five years was determined by the great powers at Yalta in 1945, the transformation is simply a return to structures which existed half a century ago. However, that fact alone has little practical significance; one cannot return mechanically to the previous model.

In Poland the effects of the preceding system weigh heavily on the contemporary book trade. The subjection of education, literature and art to political control, and their domination by the pedagogic-propaganda-oriented activities of the Party limited creative freedom and restricted what was offered to readers.

However, publishing activities in communist countries, though controlled by political censorship, were also financed according to a central plan which created conditions for the existence of state publishing and a state-run book-selling network. The change in the financial base resulting from the adoption of free market mechanisms has caused great difficulties for state enterprises.²

¹ R. Cybulski, 'Ruch wydawniczy w Polsce. Rzut oka na przeszłość', *Bibliotekarz*, 1994, pp. 4–7. R. Cybulski, 'Ruch wydawniczy w Litwie', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1995, nr. 1, pp. 44–47. R. Cybulski, 'W Bułgarii', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1993, nr. 11, pp. 46–48.

² S. A. Kondek, *Władza i wydawcy. Polityczne uwarunkowania produkcji książek w Polsce w latach 1944–1949* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1993). 236 pp. Rec. R. Cybulski, w: *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, t. XXIX (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 231–238.

The free market also led to freedom of speech in publishing. Thus, the lifting of censorship was the determining moment for the transformation of the book world. There was a difference in the way that this process occurred in Poland, as opposed to the other post-communist countries. Poland's active 'second circulation'³ (the development of which was stimulated by Polish emigré publications) greatly enriched the reading repertoire of Poles in the 1980s. Thus, the lifting of censorship did not necessarily open such a dramatically new era in reading.⁴

Nevertheless, in Poland too, the lifting of censorship did result in a change in the scope of what was on offer to the reading public. State publishers too began to publish material on subjects previously forbidden by the censor. The main upsurge was in publications which demythologised history and politics, and books on religion, philosophy, economics and the study of foreign languages. There was also a noticeable increase in *belles-lettres*, especially translations of American works, and a massive number of crime novels, thrillers and romantic fiction, as well as books on sex, ranging from advice manuals to pornography.

As well as an avalanche-like growth of titles which had not previously appeared in the Polish market, there has also been an increase in the number of publishers, a fact which I note without claiming to be able to document it with figures. The largest proportion of these is composed of small firms, many of them shortlived. Nonetheless, former state publishing houses are also surviving, some transforming themselves into private firms. This process has yet to be completed.⁵

The weakest link in the chain, inherited from the previous system, has turned out to be the book wholesaler. The monopolistic enterprise known as the 'Booksellers' Emporium' (*Składnica Księgarska*) lost its ability to act as a link between the publisher and the bookseller, fell into financial difficulties, and stopped paying its debts to publishers. Although numerous wholesale firms appeared to replace that impotent monopoly, the system is still inefficient. One failing is the lack of well-organised informational material for booksellers.

The system of bookselling has undergone great transformations. Some bookstores which were situated in the centre of towns had to move to less expensive locations. A new element in the 'landscape' of Polish streets is the appearance of booksellers' tables or kiosks, especially at markets. These out-

³ Hanna Świdorska, 'Independent Publishing in Poland: An Outline of its Development to 1986', *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 1 (1987), pp. 54–75; Janet Zmroczek, 'Publishing in Poland after 1945', *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 5 (1991), pp. 61–83 (pp. 75–81).

⁴ S. Siekierski, *Książka literacka. Potrzeby społeczne i ich realizacja w latach 1944–1986* (Warsaw, Wyd. Nauk. PWN, 1992). 484 pp. Rec. R. Cybulski, 'Polska książka literacka w latach 1944–1986', w: *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, 1992, nr. 4, pp. 146–152.

⁵ *Informator o wydawcach w Polsce 1993/1994* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1993).

lets do not offer a rich assortment, but they are good at accurately assessing and adapting to the tastes of the average passer-by in any given urban thoroughfare.

A key problem in the transformation from the communist to the capitalist system is lack of supply of funds for the renovation of existing facilities, as well as for new initiatives and investments. The processes of transformation overlap into the economic sphere, but one cannot escape the fact that the book market essentially functions in the cultural sphere, created by the intellectual and spiritual needs of the community.

Acceptance of the principles of the free market for the dissemination of books has its own social consequences. The newly arisen problem of finding a sponsor means that the kind of work intended for a small and specific circle of buyers at a particular moment cannot be published, regardless of its value (often great) and its potential to influence progress in a particular field. The conditions of a free market do not always result in the best choices of what to publish, and can be particularly detrimental to the educational sphere.⁶ These negative choices occur not only at the stage of publishing, but also at the stage of selling, the financial situation of the bookstore also playing a role. Bookstore owners avoid the acquisition of 'difficult' books which may wait a long time for a buyer or may never find one. The selection of books on the basis of those which will sell quickly often eliminates very worthwhile books from the market. This reluctance to stock books which are difficult to sell has a negative influence on intellectual life, slows down the undertaking of research into new topics, and limits intellectual discussion and theoretical thought.

In contrast, there is a dramatic increase in sales of more lowbrow general-interest books on a wide range of topics, books which the bookseller can happily order without any fear that they will remain on the shelf. This group of publications is not homogeneous; it includes international bestsellers, books of an informational character, manuals giving advice on various matters, and aids to the study of foreign languages. The customer can also find on booksellers' tables in the street a wealth of romantic fiction, mysteries and thrillers. There has also been an marked increase of supply in popular and/or educational books, richly illustrated and of a high editorial level.⁷

Overall, the book trade has suffered, with more 'bad' books appearing and fewer 'good' ones. A cause of this has been the policy of some publishers, who have put business interests above all others, seeking to realise high profits, regardless of any other considerations. This in turn has stimulated a movement for the fostering of 'good books'. There have been articles in the

⁶ J. Walewska, 'Księgarz? Akóż to taki?', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1995, nr. 3, pp. 12–15. P. Szwa-jcer, 'Pogoda dla bogaczy', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1994, nr. 2, p. 7.

⁷ *Ruch Wydawniczy w Liczbach / Polish Publishing in Figures*, XXXIX, 1993 (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994).

press and radio and television interviews on this topic. An initiative which has moved beyond words to deeds is the organisation of 'Conferences of publishers of good books' which, during 1995, have been held in the four biggest academic centres (Wrocław, Cracow, Poznań and Gdańsk). Attempts are also being made to cater for specialist markets, and to encourage the publication of books on religion, ecology and history.

The previous basic source of information, the 'Booksellers' Bibliography' (*Zapowiedzi wydawnicze*), was devastated. This had been an effective tool for the dissemination of information about new books and books in print, used widely and to good effect by publishers, booksellers and librarians, as well as by individual purchasers. Some new sources of information are beginning to appear.⁸

The diminishing purchasing power of individual potential bookbuyers is of significance for the market. In general, libraries also have great deficiencies in their acquisitions budgets, and some groups of community and public service workers (including teachers in all types of education) are in a particularly difficult situation.

Current book prices, without any doubt, are a barrier to access to literature. Polish publishers do not yet produce cheap books in the form of the pocket editions to be found in the West. Experience in Western Europe suggests that this form of publication is very effective in satisfying the needs of the reader.

Economic problems underline and determine the present state of the book scene in Poland and the shape of its future. We do not have to be convinced that the economy will be the determining factor in the development of the book trade, affecting every stage in the process. What is needed is an injection of capital, to be used in production, manufacture, and distribution, in order to create conditions which will provide better access to books.

Analysis and evaluation of the book trade cannot, however, be linked exclusively to the solution of economic problems, although, in the opinion of many, this is the most crucial factor, since economic conditions determine the very existence of retailers. The real measure for evaluation of the functioning of the book trade is the degree to which it satisfies needs. In connection with this question, there is a whole series of methodological problems which have yet to be worked out.

The current state of the book trade in Poland, as in other post-communist countries, is characterised by a lack of stability. A programme of stabilisation of the book market is a task which must be undertaken without delay. In order to attain it, certain operations must be completed so that positive reactions are set into motion. The following are needed: the strengthening of community

⁸ 'Imprezy krajowe w 1995 r.', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1995, nr. 2, pp. 14–16; Karen Rondestvedt, 'Bibliographic Control of Current Publications under the New Order (Poland, Romania, Bulgaria)', *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 9 (1995), pp. 3–14 (pp. 5–9).

representation of publishing and bookselling enterprises;⁹ the procurement of state guarantees for the development of the publishing and bookselling trade; the completion of comprehensive studies of the book market. Also, we need to take account of the experiences of Western countries in the organisation of the book trade and in publishing and library policies.

⁹ 'Kodeks dobrych obyczajów (Projekt Regulaminu stosunków wydawniczo-księgarskich)', *Notes Wydawniczy*, 1995, nr. 6, pp. 18–38.

The Book Market in Russia

Konstantin M. Sukhorukov

After the disintegration of the USSR and the declaration of Russia's independence in 1991, our country inherited about one hundred state publishing houses and also about five hundred so-called publishing organizations, that is, organizations for which publishing is an important but secondary and non-commercial concern. These organizations are mostly scientific and educational institutes, ministries, committees, foundations, museums, etc. The activity of all Soviet publishers and publishing organizations had been strictly delimited by the authorities, centralized and deprived of any competition.

The Parliament and government of the new Russian state are paying a great deal of attention to developing the nation's publishing industry within a market economy. In recent times several important laws and decrees have been adopted and passed. Among them are the state laws on the mass communication media (1991), publishing activity (1991), authors' rights (1993), joining the Florence Agreement and its Protocol (1994), legal deposit (1995), and joining the Berne Convention (1995). Censorship, and all restrictions on book publishing and bookselling, have been lifted, and only official licensing for publishing activity has been introduced. This allows lawful publishing and book distribution operations to be undertaken not only by organizations but also by individuals.

These measures have encouraged a rapid rise in the number of Russian publishers, which at the beginning of 1995 exceeded 7000. More than two-thirds of them are now private publishers. The largest publishing centres are, as previously, Moscow (53% of all registered publishers) and St Petersburg (11%).¹ Besides these cities the most important book centres in Russia are Ekaterinburg (2.5%), Novosibirsk (1.8%) and Saratov (1.6%). Moscow and St Petersburg publishers between them produced 69% of all Russian book titles in the first half of 1995, and 81% of all book copies published.²

Tables 1 and 2–4 present the main statistical data defining the dynamics of book publishing in Russia in recent years and in comparison with previous decades. The figures for 1994 are analysed in more detail. The tables clearly demonstrate that we have a crisis in the book trade in Russia today. The number of titles published has sunk to the level of the 1930s, and book printing runs are lower now than in 1950. It is worth remarking, however, that we are relying here on official data only. Russian book statistics reflect and depend on the number of legal deposit copies received by our national bibliographic

¹ Data from the Natsional'noe agentstvo ISBN pri Rossiiskoi knizhnoi palate.

² Information from the Otdel statistiki Rossiiskoi knizhnoi palaty, for the year 1995.

Table 1: Books Published³

Year	Books and Pamphlets	Runs (millions of copies)
1940	32,545	353.5
1950	28,486	646.8
1960	48,940	990.2
1970	50,040	1005.8
1980	49,503	1393.2
1990	41,234	1553.1
1993	29,017	949.9
1994 (first half)	11,338	255.3
1994 (second half)	19,052	339.0
1994 (in total)	30,390	594.3
1995 (first half)	11,407	157.2

centre—the Russian Book Chamber—from publishers. A minimum of 20%, and more probably 25%, of books liable to legal deposit have not reached the Book Chamber in recent years, and all of these have therefore escaped statistical control.⁴ We have several explanations for this phenomenon.

Many publishers, mostly newcomers, are not aware of their obligation to send copies of their publications to Moscow for bibliographic control and registration. Other Russian publishers, knowing very well their privileges and duties, nevertheless do not wish to meet the requirements of the law, partly for economic reasons (from 1995 they have to send sixteen copies free of charge) and partly in order to conceal pirated or prohibited publications. There is another way of concealing Russian book editions from official control: false imprints, when the Russian publisher tries to claim his book as Ukrainian or Belorussian. Our book statistics also cannot usually take into account so-called ‘joint editions’, when a Russian publisher sends his author’s manuscript abroad for printing and then distributes the published edition largely within Russian territory.

We must clearly understand the principal difference between Russian book publishing of the 1980s and that of the 1990s. When the USSR existed, about one-third of total Russian book production went beyond the boundaries of the Russian Federation to the so-called fraternal republics of the Soviet Union.

³ Pechat’ Rossiiskoi Federatsii v 1994 godu (Moscow, 1995), p. 6.
⁴ See for example: L. Shatskin, ‘Vtoroi vzgliad inostrantsa na rasprostranenie knig v Rossii’, *Knizhnoe delo*, 1 (13), 1995, p. 36; B. Semenovker, ‘Skol’ko knig ne postupaet v biblioteki’, *Knizhnoe delo*, 2 (14), 1995, p. 49.

Table 2: Books Published in 1994⁵

<i>Publishers</i>	<i>Books and Pamphlets</i>	<i>Runs (millions of copies)</i>
State publishing houses	10,371	217.9
Private publishing houses	10,403	344.2
Publishing organizations	9,616	32.2
Total	30,390	594.3

Table 3: Average Runs in 1994 (thousands of copies)⁶

<i>Section by subject</i>	<i>First half-year</i>	<i>Second half-year</i>
Social and political	17.5	12.1
Scientific	3.7	2.9
Technical and textbooks	27.5	30.2
Fiction	50.6	33.2

Far fewer books from all of these republics were supplied to Russia. With the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and of customs barriers, the export of books from Russia to these now independent states is diminishing year by year (about 60–70 million copies in 1994 in comparison with 500 million in 1985); but the other states are attempting by all possible means to increase the volume of legal and illegal exports of their cheaper Russian-language books to the Russian market.

Some considerations affecting print-runs (*tirazhi*). We must remember that for decades under the old Soviet system there was a contradiction between what was published and what people wanted to buy. With no interest in profit, both publishers and booksellers strove primarily to fulfil the plan. They were not worried about large remainders because nobody had personal responsibility for the unsold books or an economic interest in them.

The multi-million yearly editions of Marxist-Leninist classics have disappeared from production, as have the proceedings of Party conferences and Central Committee plenums. Print-runs of so-called ‘specialist literature’, which traditionally included industrial manuals and scholarly works, have

⁵ Ibid., p. 9.
⁶ A. Margolin & E. Margolin, ‘Poligraficheskie parametry izdatel’skoi produktsii’, *Knizhnyi biznes*, 18–19, 1995, pp. 6–7.

Table 4: Types of Book-Covers in 1994 (%)⁷

Section by subject	Hardback	Paperback:	
		glued	sewed
<i>Titles:</i>			
Social and political	18.8	29.1	22.2
Scientific	5.2	13.0	10.1
Technical and textbooks	24.3	43.3	42.2
Fiction	51.7	14.6	25.5
<i>Runs:</i>			
Social and political	5.7	24.7	16.8
Scientific	0.9	2.2	0.5
Technical and textbooks	46.1	46.0	49.3
Fiction	47.3	27.1	33.4

been sharply cut back. People have grown tired of ideology and politics, and as a result political propaganda—which was of course printed in massive print-runs—has practically vanished from the bookshops. Publication of works on socialist economic experience, which were also particularly favoured by the regime, has also ceased.

The commercialization of publishing has inevitably led to a fall not only in the number of titles but also in the overall number of copies produced. Now, due to inflation and huge transport costs, not only average-sized but even large Russian publishers can rely only on local book-trade networks. The modern Russian book business demands the quickest possible turnover, so book publishers are usually forced to set the print-runs of their books too low. Because of the liquidation of the former state system of wholesaling, we can already see in Moscow and St Petersburg a glut of certain types of fiction, such as detective stories, science fiction and romances. At the same time, the Russian population in small towns and villages is experiencing severe book hunger because they cannot find and buy most Moscow books nor, often, school textbooks for the youngest pupils.

Nevertheless, if we had the opportunity to compare not only the size of print-runs but the number of books sold (which is now unfortunately quite impossible due to the large number of unregistered bookselling outlets), it seems to me that our statistical data would not be so gloomy. The Russian book market (or, more strictly and correctly, the dozens of autonomous and very specialized book markets in Russia) has not collapsed, and the outlook

⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

Table 5: Book Prices for most Popular Types of Hardbacks
in Moscow, 1994–first half of 1995 (rubles/US\$)⁸

<i>Month</i>	<i>Detective stories</i>	<i>Fantasy</i>	<i>Love stories</i>	<i>Historical novels</i>	<i>Children's books</i>
<i>1994:</i>					
January	2380 / 1.75	2130 / 1.56	2200 / 1.58	2170 / 1.57	2130 / 1.56
February	2540 / 1.66	2330 / 1.48	2150 / 1.26	2620 / 1.68	2790 / 1.78
March	2690 / 1.57	2490 / 1.45	2450 / 1.43	3910 / 2.28	2940 / 1.72
April	3010 / 1.68	2650 / 1.48	2620 / 1.46	3920 / 2.19	3090 / 1.72
May	3380 / 1.80	2850 / 1.52	2770 / 1.48	4000 / 2.13	3200 / 1.70
June	3580 / 1.93	3240 / 1.65	3050 / 1.55	4270 / 2.18	3080 / 1.57
July	3870 / 1.91	3490 / 1.73	3440 / 1.70	4540 / 2.24	3400 / 1.68
August	4030 / 1.91	3480 / 1.65	3590 / 1.70	4570 / 2.16	4150 / 1.96
September	4370 / 1.90	3860 / 1.66	3810 / 1.66	4780 / 2.08	4220 / 1.83
October	4630 / 1.55	4040 / 1.36	3970 / 1.33	4120 / 1.38	4720 / 1.58
November	5080 / 1.62	4780 / 1.53	3960 / 1.27	4440 / 1.42	4730 / 1.51
December	5240 / 1.55	5480 / 1.62	4210 / 1.24	5060 / 1.50	7110 / 2.10
<i>1995:</i>					
January	5880 / 1.62	6040 / 1.64	4590 / 1.29	5820 / 1.61	9690 / 2.88
February	6240 / 1.61	6050 / 1.52	4960 / 1.28	6240 / 1.61	9180 / 2.08
March	6780 / 1.53	6540 / 1.46	5390 / 1.28	6890 / 1.52	9620 / 2.05
April	7310 / 1.56	6810 / 1.45	5940 / 1.28	7040 / 1.51	11010 / 2.17
May	7520 / 1.61	7190 / 1.56	6380 / 1.29	7860 / 1.74	11400 / 2.20
June	7880 / 1.68	7670 / 1.63	7010 / 1.32	8070 / 1.76	11720 / 2.38

for it is quite promising.

Table 5 presents Russian book prices, and these data refute the myth about the unprecedented growth of these prices in comparison with others. We can give here only the figures for Moscow, where prices in general are higher than in most other regions (by about 15–20%), but all trends in the dynamics of Moscow book prices are fully applicable to the whole of Russia.

At present a Russian mass-market paperback costs only three or four times as much as an ordinary newspaper, and a normal hardback book seven or eight times as much. Such a correlation is exceptional not only in Russia but also, in my view, in the rest of the world.

If we compare prices for Russian books with prices in Western countries,

⁸ Calculated by the author on the basis of data from the Rossiiskaia knizhnaia palata, and also from information on prices in the book market published in the weekly magazine *Knizhnyi biznes* in 1994 and 1995.

we shall receive clear answers not only to the question about 'high book prices in Russia', but also to the question of why traditional high standards of book editing and design in Russia are universally neglected. Retail book prices in Russia are eight to ten times lower than those of analogous books in the West, while printing costs are only 25–30% lower than the world average, and paper costs are about 90–95% of those in North America and Europe. Our publishers therefore inevitably must try to save money and time by cutting royalties and fees and by reducing time spent on the proof-reading, preparation and design of books.⁹ Russian book publishing as a whole needs state support as badly as it did earlier, and to some extent is receiving it through the Russian Federal Book Publishing Programme. During 1994, the Russian government allocated about 30 billion rubles (about 12 million US dollars) for the needs of various state and private publishers producing so-called 'serious literature'.

The state monopoly over the internal and external book trade has now been completely liquidated. The former monopolies in the internal market ('Soyuzkniga' and 'Roskniga') and the external market ('Mezhdunarodnaia kniga') are still functioning, but their status and turnover are now comparable with those of many private bookselling firms. Altogether the volume of turnover by state book-trade organizations in 1994 was no more than 20% of the total figure.¹⁰

We have no wholesalers in Russia today who can serve even one half of the national territory. Hence, even in the large bookshops of our regional centres in the European part of Russia, one can find only 30–40% of the titles published in Moscow and St Petersburg. For regions to the east of the Urals this figure will be about 20–25%.

One further problem is the continuing isolation of our book market, which has almost no business links with the West. Yet forecasts for the development of Russian book publishing are favourable enough. The opinion of most experts is that during the next two to three years we shall see a moderate rise in the number of book titles, and that the annual output of books will settle at around 600–650 million copies.¹¹

More complicated is the situation with the Russian book as such. The number of titles by Russian writers, both classic and modern, is falling every year,

⁹ See M. Isakova, E. Nikol'skaia, L. Davydova & L. Evseeva, 'Analiz struktury sebestoimosti produktsii v izdatel'stvakh', *Izdatel'skoe delo*, vyp. 4, 1995, pp. 1–12.

¹⁰ See E. Poroikova, 'Knigoizdanie v zerkale statistiki', *Vitrina*, 7–8, 1995, p. 4; Iu. Sapozhnikov & N. Timofeeva, 'Problemy stabilizatsii knizhnogo rynka', *Knizhnoe delo*, 5, 1994, pp. 3–9; Iu. V. Torsuev, 'Kniga v sovremennom obshchestve', *Informatizatsiia: Moskva, mir, vseleennaia*, 1, Nov. 1994, pp. 29–31.

¹¹ See 'Knizhnoe delo: Prognoz na 1995 god', *Knizhnoe delo*, 1 (13), 1995, pp. 3–6; Iu. Maisuradze, 'Knigoizdanie i knigorasprostranenie v Rossii', *Knizhnyi biznes*, 12–13, 1995, pp. 6–7; A. Reitlat, 'Izdatel'skii repertuar: krizis ili vozvrashchenie k norme?', *Knizhnoe delo*, 3, 1994, pp. 13–14.

although many previously banned books and the most valuable emigré literature has been republished in Russia in recent years. Now the proportion of translations in fiction titles for adults amounts to 75% of the total, and in fiction for children to about 50%.¹²

For young Russian writers (and for those not so young but still little known), irrespective of their talent, it is nowadays nearly impossible to fight their way to readers through a publisher's office. Another difficulty is the great devaluation of the traditional prestige attaching in Russia to serious reading. Young people today, if they read books at all, usually do so not for mental and spiritual development but for utilitarian purposes or entertainment. This situation is quite explicable because now in Russia educated people as a whole are the lowest-paid category of those employed. Within the half-beggared Russian intelligentsia, it is precisely those who educate through books—teachers and librarians—who are in the worst position.

In conclusion we must note that the overall Russian economic crisis of recent years has inevitably affected the nation's book trade. It is impossible to expect that, after a fall in average living standards of 3–4 times in comparison with the 1980s, Russia can retain its previous high level of book production and consumption. But there are subjective as well as objective factors at work, and the most important here is the fact that the Russian government has still failed to create the vital counterbalances necessary to act against the anarchy and irregularities which are all too common in the Russian book market. The concept of denationalization or privatization in the book business did not and does not exist. The changeover to a new pricing system has not been thought through and nothing has been done to de-monopolize the supporting industries.

Most Russian publishers and booksellers, librarians and book readers are now calling on our government to take, as soon as possible, such steps as:

1. Bringing in legislation on favourable taxation and the reduction of postal and transport charges for the book trade;
2. Radically increasing the scope and effectiveness of the Federal Book Publishing Programme, the main priorities of which should be scientific and educational titles and books for public libraries;
3. Organizing an all-Russian union of publishers and booksellers on the lines of the Börsenverein des deutschen Buchhandels, since the present numerous Russian associations have no real influence in this country or abroad;
4. Preparing and signing a cartelized book-pricing agreement which would

¹² See M. Morozovskii, 'Rynok khudozhestvennoi literatury', *Knizhnoe delo*, 6 (12), 1994, pp. 3–4.

stimulate the development of the Russian book industry and provide the minimum rates of profit necessary for paper producers, printers, publishers and booksellers.

English version edited by Gregory Walker and Christine Thomas

Russian National Bibliography: Its Present Situation

A. Dzhigo

Russian national bibliography is a complex and many-sided phenomenon with extensive historical and cultural roots. Like every national bibliography, it is a sphere of scholarly and practical activity concerned with preparing and supplying to users comprehensive bibliographic information based on registration by the state of copies of documents received by legal deposit. It is the deposited copy which has served as the foundation while history has shaped all the activities of a national bibliography: a foundation which does not shake or fall under any socio-political or ideological battering. The implementation of the principle is a different matter.

In Russia the issue of obligatory deposit free of charge has been debated at intervals by librarians and bibliographers. This is understandable: the fundamental principle of depositing publications without payment makes the production of a national bibliography and the development of large bibliographical information resources more effective. The problem of legal deposit becomes particularly acute in times which are difficult and historically unstable. In twentieth-century Russia, such periods are the 1920s (as a new socio-political structure was being formed) and the present day, due to the complex economic situation. With the end of totalitarianism in Russia, attitudes towards legal deposit have also changed radically.

The laws adopted in the early 1990s on entrepreneurial activity, on authors' rights and on the protection of intellectual property ran totally counter to the then existing distribution system which secured legal deposit copies without payment. The prevailing legal basis for taking a certain number of copies of a publication from its producer has ceased to be effective. The control mechanism which monitored published output has been lost, and this has rapidly had an impact on legal deposit as publishers cease to send their products to the Russian Book Chamber. Significant gaps have appeared in the holdings of deposited copies, and as many as 40% of titles appearing have not been recorded in the national bibliography.¹

The necessity was therefore recognised for the preparation of a law on legal deposit which would, in the conditions of a free market, ensure the stable supply of documents to bibliographical information organisations, in order to build up a comprehensive collection of the country's documents and enable

¹ Calculating the number of unregistered publications not included in the national bibliography is a difficult matter. No criteria exist at an international level for a precise calculation. In this case, the analysis was carried out by comparing the copies of publications received by the Russian Book Chamber, the Russian State Library and the Russian National Library.

their registration by the state, their recording and the creation of a national bibliography as one of the country's cultural and intellectual assets.

The introduction of the law 'On the legal deposit of documents' was the logical conclusion of intensive work undertaken, over a period of more than three years, by a large group of specialists representing the Russian Book Chamber, the Russian State Library and the Russian National Library. It was the first time in Russian legal practice that a normative act of this kind had been introduced. Previously there had been regulations and decrees which regulated the legal deposit of printed publications only.² The new law sets out the state's policy with regard to organising deposit copies of documents—explicitly of documents as the resource base for the development of a comprehensive national library and information resource for Russia. An important aspect of this is the link between the legal deposit system and the wider sphere of regulated social relations. This is affected by a variety of regulatory and legal instruments relating to forms of property, authors' rights, archive collections, objects of national cultural value and preferential taxation. It is right that the laws on publishing activity, authors' rights and legal deposit should be seen as the main, mutually-linked supports of today's book culture. The level of development of the country's entire information and bibliographical activity, and of the national bibliography in particular, depends to a crucial extent on the law's ensuring the supply of legal deposit copies to the major collections.

By 'deposit copies' is meant the specified and legally confirmed number of indigenous documents subject to delivery by their producers to stated institutions and organisations. The totality of all types of deposit copy, together with the arrangements laid down for their collection and distribution, form an orderly system.

The law lays down a broad conception of the term 'document'. It is defined as a material object bearing information in the form of text, sound or image, transmitted in time and space. Besides the printed publications (textual, musical, cartographic and graphical) which were characteristic of the Soviet period of the national bibliography's development, the obligation of legal deposit now extends to publications for the blind in Braille; 'talking books'; unpublished documents (dissertations, research and design reports, deposited scientific papers, algorithms and computer programs); audio-visual materials (cinema, video, photographic and sound recordings); and electronic publications (computer programs, and databases carried by magnetic, optical, optical-magnetic and other technologies). Such a broad interpretation of the term 'document' necessitated separating out from the general stream of documents those to which the legislation did not apply. They included any material of a personal,

² See also: 'Ob obiazatel'nykh besplatnykh i platnykh ekzempliarakh izdani: Postanovlenie Verkhovnogo Soveta Rossiiskoi Federatsii No. 5098-1 ot 3 iunia 1993 goda', in *Sbornik pravovykh i normativnykh dokumentov ob izdatel'skoi deiatel'nosti* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 5–17.

confidential or secret nature, and items created in a single example not subject to further reproduction or dissemination. Nor does the legislation extend to materials which fall outside the categories of national, cultural or intellectual property. This group includes galleys, page proofs, production notes, film scripts, etc.; that is, those preparatory materials which serve as the basis for the reproduction and copying of printed, audio-visual and electronic publications.

The circle of recipients is specified in such a way as to form a complex structure which fulfils the three fundamental functions of legal deposit: cultural, archival and informational. Hence, from among all the libraries, scientific and technical information organs and document centres, a group of state repositories has been singled out which together will ensure the safe-keeping of all types of document produced in the country, and will make them known through the national bibliography.

The Russian Book Chamber is responsible for the official recording of printed publications and the compilation of national bibliographic and statistical information about them. The Russian State Library for the Blind undertakes the collection of publications for the blind and 'talking books', their recording and registration, and the compilation of a national bibliography. Analogous functions for legislative and regulatory materials are performed by the Parliamentary Library of the Russian Federation; for patents and inventions by the All-Russian Patent and Technical Library; and for standards by the Federal Collection of State Standards, which is the all-Russian classification agency handling technical and economic information, international (regional) regulations and the standardisation norms and recommendations of foreign countries. The permanent preservation of unpublished documents, their collection, registration, recording and bibliographical control, is the responsibility of the All-Russian Scientific and Technical Information Centre (for reports on scientific research, experiments and design, and for dissertations); of the Institute for Social Science Information (for scholarly works in the social sciences); and of the All-Russian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information (for scholarly works in the natural and exact sciences and technology). For audio-visual materials the responsibilities are assumed by the Russian State Archive of Cinematic Documents, the State Collection of Cinema Films, and the Russian State Archive of Sound Recordings.³

These are the distribution arrangements for legal deposit, but they also determine the functioning (that is, the creation) of the Russian national bibliography. In Russia, until 1990, the current national bibliography was the concern of the book chambers only, and was based solely on printed publications; whereas now, new and fundamentally different conditions have been set up for

³ For more detail, see *Sbornik pravovykh i normativnykh dokumentov ob izdatel'skoi deiatel'nosti* (Moscow, Rossiiskaia knizhnaia palata, 1995).

the creation of a national bibliography. The network of organisations carries out its compilation by drawing on each of the flows of documentary output. This decentralised form of compilation embraces the entire spectrum of documents and is seen as the preferred option, since from the user's standpoint virtually no type of document is omitted.⁴

It would be difficult to deal with all the changes taking place in the national bibliography: a separate session on the subject would be needed. We would therefore like to mention only two decisions which will make a fundamental difference: those on the selection of publications for inclusion in the national bibliography, and on changes to the information search language.

The national bibliographic system which took shape during the period of Soviet power was based on format. All publications were recorded in appropriate listings—*letopisi*—according to their basic type: books, graphical publications, maps, musical scores, etc. But within the arrangement by format there was to be found a purely expedient and ideological element. Not every book, for instance, could be shown in *Knizhnaia letopis'*. There existed so-called special sheets (*spetsial'nye listy*) on which was listed 'closed' bibliographical information. Besides that, the output of books was divided into those with a set price (that is, books intended for the book trade and hence for a wide circulation) and those having an ideologically dubious tinge and consequently a restricted distribution. All publications were listed accordingly, either in *Knizhnaia letopis'* or in *Knizhnaia letopis'. Dopolnitel'nyi vypusk*, the latter published in a very small print-run. The 'special sheets' are no longer issued, and *Knizhnaia letopis'* now appears as a single title, covering the country's entire output of books regardless of their purpose or readership. Any user can now find there the bibliographic entry for any book which has undergone state registration. A similar situation prevailed in the *Letopis' periodicheskikh i prodolzhaiushchikhsia izdanii*. Now, all serial publications are appropriately recorded in the national bibliographical resource.

The problems of changing the information search language are closely linked with changes in the output of published material, which was previously subject to prohibitions on artistic, religious, economic and socio-political grounds. By the beginning of 1990, the 'Common classification of literature for book publishing' (*Edinaia klassifikatsiia literatury dlia knigoizdanii*—EKL), tainted as it was by political subjectivism, no longer reflected the new attitudes and subject structure of the country's documentary production. Growing dif-

⁴ For more detail on the legal deposit system at present in operation, see A. A. Dzhigo & A. L. Muratov, 'Besplatno, v den' vykhoda v svet . . . : O pol'ze obiazatel'nogo ekzempliara', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 7, 1995, p. 20; N. N. Gruzinskaia & A. A. Dzhigo, 'Zakon ob obiazatel'nom ekzempliare dokumentov: novaia redaktsiia', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki*, no. 11, 1994, pp. 3–11; A. A. Dzhigo, 'Zakon "Ob obiazatel'nom ekzempliare dokumentov"—v deistvii', *Bibliotekovedenie*, no. 2, 1995, pp. 3–10.

difficulties with the information search language in the national bibliography led to the introduction of radical amendments in the classification of publications, and to the dismantling of the compromised structure both as a scheme in its own right and as the framework for the production of the national bibliography.

The EKL was created, and lived on, as a purely bureaucratic classification system. Its classification numbers were practically unintelligible to most scientific and technical information organs, and to most libraries. When incorporating bibliographical information into other files of material, expensive reclassification was necessary. Specialist scientific or technical information services, when they searched national bibliographical publications arranged by the EKL for items they required, frequently found the results incomplete. In the exchange of bibliographical data with foreign countries, the EKL classification numbers were useless as indicators of a book's subject—one obstacle among others in the way of genuine compatibility between Russian and foreign document information databases.

The structure of the EKL was altered more than once during a short period of time. Within the space of eight years (in 1978 and again in 1985) it was reshaped and reissued twice. Whole sections and new concepts were inserted and deleted, which broke up the basic structure of the classification system and required the restructuring and revision of the national bibliographical catalogues. All this gave rise to serious difficulties in bibliographical reference work, and confused users in their search for retrospective bibliographical information.

The EKL was a typically Soviet system, intended to embody the principle of Communist party-mindedness (*partiinosť*) and to accommodate itself to the prevailing requirements of one leader or another. The main sequence of the EKL begins with sections devoted to the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the work of the Communist Party and the Komsomol. On being abolished a few years ago, these sections were somewhat awkwardly squeezed in under other classification headings, making them unwieldy and obscure.

The wishes of influential figures, or policy changes within the State Press Committee, led to changes in the method of classification. For example, while in the first edition of the EKL all aspects of economics and branches of the national economy were concentrated within section 6 'Economics', the second edition authorised their 'dispersal according to the branch of economy'. By contrast, books on various branches of mechanical engineering were classified in the first edition of the EKL according to the particular branch, but in the second edition were all brought together under section 27 'Mechanical engineering'.

All this was sufficient to convince those concerned of the need to discontinue use of the EKL in the national bibliography. In 1991, therefore, spe-

cialists in the Russian Book Chamber addressed themselves to the problem of changing the information search language of the national bibliography.

In principle, a country's documentary output can be organised using any classification scheme which can objectively represent all fields of knowledge. The questions at issue are the number of users who will be familiar with this or that search language, and the compatibility of the databases in enabling searching and dissemination of the publications within the country and abroad. It would have been possible to settle on any classification scheme. Many such schemes already exist, or will be developed, throughout the world, and all have some claim to an application. But given the trend towards the 'informatisation' of society at the present time, there is no doubt that preference has to be given to the search language in which the majority of information services 'speak'; so once again, as in the 1920s, the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) was selected.

Why the UDC in particular? Let us try to explain the choice. The decimal principle of the UDC's structure enables practically any concept to be added to its classification numbers without altering the structure of the scheme itself. While remaining stable as an entity, the UDC is flexible and neutral enough to accommodate new phenomena and concepts. It is capable of embracing all new developments in science, technology, culture and so on.

The UDC has been known in Russia ever since its first appearance. The first short translation of the UDC was published in 1907. In the second decade of the century, fuller translations were published of the UDC as a whole and of separate subject sections. The most active role in promoting the UDC in Russia was played by Professor B. S. Bodnarskii (1874–1968), president of the Russian Bibliographical Society and the organiser and first director of the Russian Central Book Chamber in Moscow.

Between 1926 and 1930 the state bibliographical listing of the RSFSR, *Knizhnaia letopis'*, was arranged according to the UDC. From 1931 onwards attempts were made to create a 'genuinely scientific Marxist-Leninist classification' for the state bibliography. The UDC was declared to be a 'bourgeois' scheme, although a location for its classification numbers in bibliographical records was retained throughout the USSR's existence. In 1962 the UDC was partially rehabilitated. Under a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 11 May 1962, 'On measures to improve the country's organisation of scientific and technical information', the UDC was introduced as the sole obligatory information search language for scientific and technical documentation. UDC classification numbers began to be placed at the head of articles in scientific and technical journals, and in books on the natural sciences and technology. Scientific and technical information services, and the libraries of technical research institutes and universities, began to organise their information resources on the basis of the UDC. That at once simplified the exchange

of information with other countries. Clearly it was only by accepting a single search language and international classification scheme that a country could become a full member of the international information community. However, the 'social' sections of the UDC remained under a special ban right up to 1991.

The repudiation of Marxist ideology, and new phenomena in social life, placed in question the suitability of those Soviet classifications—the BBK and EKL—which were founded on earlier ideological teaching. The revision of their structures was begun, which turned them into extremely clumsy and artificial collections of concepts, weakly linked together. The sections devoted to Marxism, the CPSU and the Komsomol were abolished, and forced awkwardly under headings for other subjects, breaking up the structure of the schemes. Catalogues and information files were hurriedly rearranged and modified, leaving the user at a loss. The 'reorganised' BBK and EKL lacked adequate locations for the new concepts associated with the democratisation and greater openness of society. Library staff themselves raised the question of abandoning the EKL and transferring to a new—or rather, old—international classification system familiar to all bibliographers: the UDC.

So, in 1991, staff of the Russian Book Chamber's research department for state bibliography began the reorganisation of the Russian state bibliographical listings on the basis of the UDC. In doing so they drew extensively on the experience of their predecessors, especially N. V. Rusinov (1873 (74)–1940), and on the practice of national bibliographical centres in other countries. By the beginning of 1992 a scheme had been devised for 'The arrangement of bibliographical records in state bibliographical listings on the basis of the Universal Decimal Classification'. For the requirements of the publishing industry a less elaborate scheme was developed in 1993: a simplified version of the UDC.⁵

In all essentials, since the beginning of 1993 the grouping of entries and the structure of the Russian Book Centre's listings have been founded on the UDC. There are no special conditions applying to the use of the UDC in Russian national bibliographic publications. The UDC's principles of construction give the freedom to select the degree of detail in which to record the material, and to create headings not included in the main classification sequence. For example, special subdivisions were set up to cover the political situation, economy and history of the Russian Federation. Taking account of the volume of documents in certain subject areas, some subdivisions of the

⁵ For detailed information on progress in introducing the use of the UDC into Russian national bibliography, see A. A. Dzhigo, 'Primenenie UDK v natsional'noi bibliografii Rossii', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki*, no. 4, 1994, pp. 32–37; A. A. Dzhigo & S. Iu. Kalinin, 'Universal'naia desiaticznaia klassifikatsiia dlia izdatelei', *Knizhnyi biznes*, no. 39–40, 1994, pp. 5–6; 1995, no. 1, p. 5; 1995, no. 2 (82), pp. 7–8.

listing have been reduced in detail.

Editions of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are not listed in separate sections, as they were in the EKL, but in the subject sections corresponding to their contents. It is also simple to search for publications by those authors with the aid of the name indexes to the listings. Works on Marxist-Leninist philosophy are placed under the heading 101 'Nature and purpose of philosophy', without any subdivision for dialectical and historical materialism. Publications on 'scientific communism' in general, or on a particular tendency in political studies, are not placed under a separate heading but located in section 32.001 'Political studies'. Russian literature is not subdivided into the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods.

All the above is proof enough that, as democratic reforms proceed in Russia, the national bibliography is being transformed. The range of documents subject to registration and recording is broadening; the principles for the selection of publications are being applied as decreed by the Federal law on legal deposit; and the information search language is being perfected. All this, in the final analysis, is driving the process of consolidating Russia's place in the world as a reliable producer and user of national bibliographical information, and is making possible the direct compatibility of its databases with those of other countries.

Translated from Russian by Gregory Walker

National Bibliographies on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia with Particular Reference to Slovenian Bibliography

Lidija Wagner

From 1950 the Federal State of Yugoslavia had its corresponding federal Yugoslav bibliography. In 1949 the Bibliographic Institute of the People's Republic of Serbia (Bibliografski institut NR Srbije) was legally transformed into an all-Yugoslav institution and renamed the Yugoslav Bibliographic Institute (Jugoslovenski bibliografski institut). From 1950 onwards it issued the Yugoslav Bibliography of books, serials, articles, government publications, grey literature and translations.¹ The bibliography was produced on the basis of a *de visu* examination of legal deposit copies received from each republic and from two autonomous regions. Apart from this collective bibliography, most of the republics produced their own national bibliographies.² It is interesting to note that Serbia did not, but that the other republics did, namely Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia, which had the longest tradition. Printed and other acquisitions were catalogued twice, once for the Yugoslav Bibliography and once for individual national bibliographies. There had long been an idea to simplify and rationalize this process. Attempts had been made to produce catalogue cards for exchange, but difficulties arose with subject indexes because of the different languages (with different scripts and different grammatical rules) of the various languages of Yugoslavia.

The turning point was in 1988 when automation was introduced and an on-line union catalogue began to be formed. At first only the national libraries of each individual republic and the Yugoslav Bibliographic Institute were connected to this on-line network. The host of the union catalogue was the Institute of Information Sciences (Institut informacijskih znanosti or IZUM) in Maribor, Slovenia, which was not only in charge of the host computer but also all the hardware and software for the whole system. Material was catalogued only once and data was stored in the host database and in the local databases of the individual institutions which were actively involved in creating the union catalogue. Data was processed in COMARC, a partly modified UNIMARC format. The programme was adjusted to suit the needs of each individual republic. Data was input in Latin characters, output could be in

¹ *Bibliografija Jugoslavije: knjige, brošure i muzikalije* (Belgrade, Jugoslovenski bibliografski institut, 1950–). Fortnightly.

² For a general survey of bibliographies published in the former Yugoslavia up to ca. 1968, see Michael B. Petrovich, *Yugoslavia: A Bibliographic Guide* (Washington, Library of Congress, Slavic and Central European Division, 1974), pp. 3–9.

Latin or Cyrillic. The alphabetical sequence was adjusted to cope with specific letters (for example, the Cyrillic *lj* which counts as one letter in Serbian and two in Slovenian). Each republic input particular data, such as keywords and annotations, in its own national language. Because of the difficulties in searching which arose from these elements in different languages, the idea arose that there should be a Yugoslav subject index in the languages of the individual nations with English as a linking language, but this project was never realised. General agreement was reached about descriptive cataloguing, structure of data, classification, and coding of data. For classification, UDC was used, and became the norm, especially for serials.

From this union catalogue the Yugoslav Bibliography was produced, and also the national bibliographies of the individual republics, and some other selective bulletins (for example, the Slovene Bulletin of New Acquisitions³ and CIP bulletin).⁴ Besides the exchange of bibliographic data, the republics also exchanged printed and other materials until 1991 when the war broke out and Yugoslavia fell apart. Channels of communication were broken, new independent countries were born on the territory of former Yugoslavia, there were states of emergency or war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and the rest of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro) was subject to economic and cultural sanctions. Contacts between the new independent state of Slovenia and Serbia became very weak, but the National and University Library in Ljubljana continued to exchange some printed material with Croatia and Macedonia.

As far as national bibliographies were concerned, there was not much change. The Yugoslav Bibliographic Institute still exists and continues to produce the 'Yugoslav' Bibliography which now represents the printed production of Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro, and is produced on the basis of legal deposit copies. The Institute still issues bibliographies of books, serials and articles. CIP entries are made at the Serbian National Library. Data gathered by the Yugoslav Bibliographic Institute shows that the number of titles has greatly declined. In 1992 the number of titles was 2,580; in 1993 about 1,600; in 1994 it rose to 2,800. However, this was only half the number produced in Serbia before 1991. Macedonia still issues its national bibliography,⁵ including entries for books, serials, articles and 'externica', i.e. Macedonica published outside Macedonia. The current number of titles is about 600 a year, as opposed to the pre-1991 figure of 800–1,000 a year. Both the Macedonian and Serbian national bibliographies are the results of an automated system. They still use COMARC and software made by IZUM, but the data-

³ *Bilten novosti* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1994–). Monthly.

⁴ *Knjige v tisku* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1991–). Monthly.

⁵ *Makedonska bibliografija* (Skopje, Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka 'Kliment Ohridski', 1951–). Annual.

bases are not accessible to other states because of political and technical problems. Description follows ISBD standards and classification is according to UDC.

The independent state of Croatia also issues its national bibliography, in two series—books and articles.⁶ Both are produced by computer, but use a different system. The format is UNIMARC, descriptive cataloguing follows ISBD standards and cataloguing rules by Eva Verona,⁷ and UDC is used for subject classification. Until 1992 the Croatian bibliography included only legal deposit material. Later it also included books by Croatian authors published outside Croatia. In Croatia too a decline in the number of titles published after 1991 is apparent: in 1990 the number of titles published was 2,500; in 1991—1,750; in the first half of 1994—only 720 titles.

Slovenia has the longest tradition of issuing its current national bibliography, beginning as early as 1868. At first the bibliography appeared as part of *Letopis Slovenske matice*;⁸ in 1898 it became a separate publication entitled *Zbornik*⁹ and ceased publication in 1902, reappearing only in 1945 under the title *Slovenska bibliografija*.¹⁰ Thereafter, it was issued annually up to 1979, including descriptions of books, serials, articles and some other printed materials. Between 1980 and 1984 it continued as an annual,¹¹ but because of a growth in printed material, lack of financial support and an insufficient number of bibliographers, it came out with ever greater delay; in its latter years it could hardly be called a current bibliography, since it was ten years in arrears! However, current bibliographic coverage was (and still is) provided by the publishers' monthly *Knjiga*,¹² available in bookstores and libraries. In 1985 the Slovenian Bibliography began to be issued quarterly,¹³ and continues to be published very regularly up to the present day. In 1988 automation was introduced, and Slovenia was one of the first creators of the union catalogue, mentioned above. Slovenia produced entries for material published on its own territory and, at the same time, it had easy on-line access to all monographs

⁶ *Hrvatska bibliografija*. Niz. A: Knjige (Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1990–). Monthly. *Hrvatska bibliografija*. Niz. B. Prilozi u časopisima i zbornicima (Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1990–). Monthly.

⁷ Eva Verona, *Pravilnik i priručnik za izradu abecednih kataloga* 1. dio. Odrednica i redalice (Zagreb, Hrvatsko bibliotekarsko društvo, 1986); and her *Pravilnik i priručnik za izradu abecednih kataloga*. 2. dio. Kataložni opis (Zagreb, Hrvatsko bibliotekarsko društvo, 1983).

⁸ *Letopis Slovenske matice* (Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1868–97).

⁹ *Zbornik* (Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1898–1902).

¹⁰ *Slovenska bibliografija* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1945 (printed 1948–1979). Annual.

¹¹ *Slovenska bibliografija*. Series B: Knjige (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1980–84).

¹² *Knjiga: revija za ljubitelje knjige* (Ljubljana, Mihelač, 1953–). Monthly.

¹³ *Slovenska bibliografija: knjige* (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, 1985–). Quarterly.

by Slovenian authors published in other Yugoslav republics.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, the principle of automated processing remained the same, although different libraries were now connected to the system. The union catalogue continued to function but changed its name to COBISS (Cooperative On-Line Bibliographic System and Services). IZUM in Maribor is still in charge of hardware and software, and COMARC is still in use. At present the union catalogue is compiled by about one hundred Slovenian libraries—public libraries, university and special libraries and the national library. They are creating the cooperative database/union catalogue COBIB (Cooperative On-Line Bibliographic Databases). The national library, that is the National and University Library in Ljubljana, has the following responsibilities: CIP (Cataloguing in publication); ISSN centre; ISBN agency; recipient of legal deposit material; editor and publisher of the national bibliography; supervisor of COBIB.

About two-thirds of Slovenian publishers bring their books to the National and University Library to get CIP entries. The CIP entries are accessible on COBIB databases, providing the earliest information about the publication of a book. A selection of CIP entries is published in the literary supplement of one of the main daily newspapers *Delo*, and a selective bibliography of recent books is also published in the monthly journal *Knjiga*. The law on legal deposit is one which obligates specifically printers; thus the legal deposit material received by the National and University Library consists of material *printed* on our territory. If the contents of the national bibliography were based on legal deposit copies it would reflect only the printed output of Slovenia, and would include the many books printed for foreign customers in many different languages by Slovenian printers. The main objective of the Slovenian National Bibliography is, however, to show the creativity of Slovenians. Therefore it aims to include publications which satisfy at least one of the following criteria: Slovenian author; Slovenian language; Slovenian publisher (and not only in Slovenia).

To acquire all such material is a demanding task. Thus it can happen that some entries in the current bibliography are for older material (published up to five years earlier). The bibliography provides an overview of the creativity of Slovenians at home and abroad, including material published by the Slovenian minorities in Italy, Austria and Hungary, and other groups of emigrés all over the world. Although the publications of Slovenian emigrés after the Second World War were prohibited and not accessible to the general public in Slovenia, the National and University Library always tried to acquire them. They were kept in 'special' (restricted-access) collections and made available only under certain conditions for serious research and study, but information about them was published in the Slovenian Bibliography. These emigré publications already spoke out against communism, and advocated the independence of

Slovenia. They also wrote about democracy and freedom of speech, and discussed religious issues.

After 1991 censorship was abandoned and emigré publications were no longer given special status. In Slovenia many small private publishers came into existence and the number of books published privately by the author also grew. Many new serials appeared, some of them very shortlived. It was like a dam that had been broken, with a flood of publishers all trying to find their place in the sun. In 1991, 2,400 monograph titles were published in Slovenia, rising to 2,900 in 1994. In 1991 there were 700 serial titles, and in 1994 about 950. Before 1991 there were only three daily newspapers, whereas now there are seven, quite a large number for a nation of two million people.

Subject analysis of recent publications indicates growth in the following areas: religion, meditation, astrology; alternative, i.e. unofficial, textbooks, especially for elementary schools; alternative medicine; reprints of Slovenian classics. At present there is a shortage of university textbooks in Slovenia; in the past textbooks in Serbo-Croatian which were cheap and available were widely used. Now, in general, there is a turning away from the languages of former Yugoslavia and a move towards 'world' languages. There is a tendency for articles on local history and conference proceedings to be written in English, German, French or Italian; before 1991 they were more likely to have been written in or translated into Serbo-Croatian. Similarly, translations into Slovenian are now mostly from English or German, with hardly any works by Croatian, Serbian or Macedonian authors being translated. Exceptions are books written by refugees who came to Slovenia as a result of the war. Slovenia provides their children with education, so reprints of Bosnian elementary school textbooks are also being produced. There is also an interesting series 'Ezgil ABC', published in Ljubljana, which includes books by Croatian and Bosnian authors in Croatian, and translations into Croatian of Slovenian authors. Books about the war in Sarajevo by Bosnian authors and the newspaper *Oslobodjenje*¹⁴ are also printed in Slovenia.¹⁵

In form, the Slovenian National Bibliography is as follows. Bibliographic description follows ISBD standards. Subject classification is according to UDC. From 1990 onwards subject headings have been in Slovenian only. At the end of each volume there are name and subject indexes. The name index includes names of all authors. In the case of the primary author, title and entry number are attached. In the case of secondary authors, a code indicating the author's function, e.g. translator, editor or illustrator, is also present, as well as the entry number. The subject index includes keywords with the

¹⁴ *Oslobodjenje: nezavisni evropski tjednik* (Sarajevo, Zagreb, 1993–). Weekly.

¹⁵ I have been unable to obtain any information about current work on the recording of material printed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As is well known, the National Library in Sarajevo, which acted as the bibliographic centre for Bosnia and Herzegovina, was destroyed by fire in 1992.

entry number attached to them. Keywords are also inverted and can appear in more than one place in the subject index. Example: potresi/Slovenija 231 and Slovenija/potresi 231. The bibliography is available in printed form and on-line as part of the COBISS union catalogue. A CD ROM is also to be published which will include the Slovenian Bibliography from 1989 onwards.

Now that Yugoslavia has fallen apart, it is obvious that each of the new independent states will try to produce its own national bibliography, which will reflect its individual political and economic situation. In the future cultural and other connections between the new independent states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia will be reestablished, but on a different basis. New technology will inevitably have a great impact on bibliographic services, and it is probable that the national bibliographies of all the new states will, like the Slovenian Bibliography, be available on-line or on CD ROM.

Проблемы и перспективы ретроспективной библиографии России

Г.В. Михеева

Идея создания полного репертуара русской книги насчитывает уже два столетия и, по сути, до сих пор остается мечтой многих поколений отечественных библиографов. Я не буду освещать глубокую историю вопроса, прекрасно отраженную в трудах известных отечественных историков библиографии Н.В. Здобнова¹ и М.В. Машковой,² а остановлюсь лишь на ряде моментов, которые можно считать проблемными для современного состояния вопроса и от решения которых во многом будет зависеть, воплотится ли в жизнь эта многовековая мечта российских деятелей книги.

Основой создания ретроспективного свода любой национальной печатной продукции можно считать длительно существующую систему обязательного экземпляра, отлаженный текущий учет разных видов изданий, наличие библиографического центра (центров), аккумулирующих сведения, необходимые для воссоздания репертуара. И все-таки общеизвестно, что даже при идеально отлаженных всех этих звеньях невозможно создать национальный репертуар методом простого сложения текущих регистрационных указателей. Что касается России, то фактически в стране обязательный экземпляр был введен с 1783 г., когда 1 экземпляр стала получать БАН, с 1810 г. — Императорская Публичная библиотека, с 1862 г. — Библиотека Румянцевского музея, затем — еще некоторые крупные библиотеки.³ В силу ряда объективных причин, в частности, исторических потрясений, были периоды (например, 1917—1921 гг.), когда всего лишь 5% печатной продукции страны поступали в крупнейшие библиотеки.⁴ На такие значительные пробелы в пополнении библио-

¹ Здобнов Н.В. История русской библиографии от древнего периода до начала XX века. Москва, 1944—1947, т. 1—2.

² Машкова М.В. История русской библиографии до начала XX века (до октября 1917 года). Москва, 1969, с. 65—83.

³ Книговедение: Энциклопедический словарь. Москва, 1982, с. 379.

⁴ Боднарский Б.С. Петроградская 'Книжная летопись': (Доклад в Русском библиографическом обществе при Московском государственном университете 30 июля 1920 г.) // Советская библиография, 1940, Сб. 1, с. 155; [Ильинский Л.К.] Библиографические работы Книжной палаты // Библиографическое обозрение. 1919, Кн. 1, с. 161—164; Сокурова М.В. Общие библиографии русских книг гражданской печати, 1708—1955: Аннотированный указатель. 2-е изд. Ленинград, 1956, с. 187. См. также: Протокол совещания по обсуждению плана работы Отдела ретроспективной библиографии [Всесоюзной книжной палаты], 14 марта 1941 г. // Научный архив ВКП, ф. 52, ед. хр. 3230, л. 7.

тек обязательным экземпляром неоднократно указывалось в работах А.Л. Посадкова,⁵ других специалистов, в том числе и автора данного сообщения.⁶ Революционные потрясения в России в любой период настолько нарушали систему обязательного экземпляра, что говорить о сколько-нибудь полном комплекте в какой-либо из библиотек не приходится. Кстати, яркий пример того — сегодняшнее состояние страны, когда до 10—20 и более % (по разным источникам) изданий оказываются вне системы обязательного экземпляра.⁷

Текущая официальная регистрация в России началась в 1837 г. и регулярно осуществлялась лишь до 1855 г., затем — эпизодически, с перерывами, и лишь с 1907 г. с возникновением 'Книжной летописи' — постоянно.⁸ Далеко не вся печатная продукция страны попадала в регистрационный указатель, как по указанным тем же объективным причинам, так и в силу ряда иных, а именно: в разные периоды существовали разные принципы относительно включения, а точнее — невключения материала в государственный регистрационный указатель, существовали ограничения по тиражу, типу издания и ряд других.⁹ Не будем давать оценки правильности или ошибочности тех или иных решений в каждый период, отметим только, что полнота в государственной регистрации далеко не исчерпывающая. В разные исторические периоды в учетные указатели не попадали издания и вполне сознательно, оценивавшиеся государством как идеологически вредные: будь то 'запрещенные' социал-демократические издания конца прошлого — начала нашего века, или 'самиздатовские', 'антисоветские' — недавнего прошлого.

Наконец, особенностью развития России является то, что библиографический центр — Книжная палата, созданный лишь как следствие Февральской революции 1917 г.,¹⁰ — не был связан ни с одной библиотекой, существовал как самостоятельное независимое учреждение в 1917—1920 гг. в Петрограде, а с 1920 г. на основании так называемого 'Ленин-

⁵ Посадков А.Л. Сибирская книга и революция, 1917—1918. Новосибирск, 1977, с. 21; Его же. Книжный репертуар Сибири 20-х гг.: Проблемы восстановления и изучения // Региональные проблемы истории книги в Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке. Новосибирск, 1985, с. 94.

⁶ Михеева Г.В. История русской библиографии, 1917—1921 гг. Санкт-Петербург, 1992, с. 49, 51, 125 и др.

⁷ Сведения любезно предоставлены отделом комплектования Российской национальной библиотеки.

⁸ Михеева Г.В. Государственная библиографическая регистрация к февралю 1917 г. Периодизация библиографической регистрации в 1917—1921 гг. // Михеева Г.В. История... (примечание 6), с. 26—33.

⁹ Государственная регистрационно-учетная библиография в СССР: Справочник. / Сост. Ю.И. Масанов. Москва, 1952, с. 19; Михеева Г.В. История... (примечание 6), с. 55 и др.

¹⁰ Об учреждениях по делам печати // Собрание узаконений и распоряжений Временного правительства. 1917. 15 мая (№ 109), Отд. 1, Ст. 598.

ского декрета о библиографии»¹¹ был трансформирован в Москву. По сути в Москве было создано новое идеологическое учреждение, отвечавшее задачам Советской власти, решавшее их на должном уровне и до недавнего прошлого проводившее в жизнь объявленную идею партийности библиографии.

Таким образом, ни одна библиотека в России не располагает сколько-нибудь полным сводом отечественной печати, нет ее полного учета (а до 1907 г. об этом вообще не приходится говорить) в текущих указателях библиографической регистрации и, наконец, создание центра государственной библиографической регистрации лишь в 1917 г., вообще не обладающего предшествующим фондом печати, не позволяет говорить о возможности создания национального репертуара в России каким-либо одним учреждением.

Реальные попытки прежнего воссоздания всеобщего национального репертуара печати от В.С. Сопикова¹² до С.А. Венгерова¹³ и репертуара, созданного к 1917 г. Русским библиографическим обществом,¹⁴ к сожалению, не были доведены до конца.

Постепенно в сознании библиографов сложилось справедливое представление, что в России национальный репертуар печати должен представлять собой систему ретроспективных капитальных библиографических трудов, в основу которых положено, прежде всего, видовое и хронологическое деление. Кроме того, наиболее перспективным началом для создания репертуара книг было признано создание Сводного каталога Русской книги. В 1950—60-е гг. были созданы сводные каталоги Петровской книги и книг XVIII века.¹⁵ В 1977 г. началась реализация 20-летней программы по созданию сводного каталога русских книг XIX века до 1917 г.¹⁶ Реальная возможность создания такого каталога была заложена еще в 1920-е—50-е гг., когда на основе рекаталогизации русского фонда

¹¹ Постановление Совета Народных Комиссаров о передаче библиографического дела в РСФСР Народному Комиссариату просвещения // Известия ВЦИК. 1920. 9 июля (№ 149). См. также: *Михеева Г.В.* Декрет о библиографии 1920 г. // *Михеева Г.В.* История... (примечание 6), с. 131—151.

¹² *Сопиков В.С.* Опыт российской библиографии. Санкт-Петербург, 1813—1821. ч. 1—5.

¹³ *Венгеров С.А.* Русские книги. С биографическими данными об авторах и переводчиках (1708—1893). Санкт-Петербург, 1895—1899. т. 1—3 (до 'Вавилов' включительно).

¹⁴ *Орлов Н.Н.* 35-летие Русского библиографического общества при Московском университете // Библиографические известия. 1924. № 1/4, с. 28. См. также: *Машкова М.В.* (примечание 2), с. 66—71.

¹⁵ Описание изданной печати, 1708—январь 1725 г. / Т.А. Быкова, М.М. Гуревич. Москва; Ленинград, 1955; Сводный каталог русской книги гражданской печати XVIII в., 1725—1800 гг. Москва, 1962—1967, 1975; и др. Полный перечень см. в изд.: Книговедение (примечание 3), с. 49.

¹⁶ *Соколинский Е.К.* Пока нечем гордиться: (О репертуаре русской книги) // Советская библиография, 1988, № 3, с. 11—16. См. также: Положение о системе сводных каталогов в библиотеках СССР. Москва, 1987. 6 с.

Государственная Публичная библиотека им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина (ныне Российская национальная библиотека) выпустила так называемую 'печатную карточку' с описанием 736 тысяч названий и безвозмездно передала ее библиотекам.¹⁷ Напомню, что именно эта библиотека располагает крупнейшим в мире собранием русской печати до 1917 г. Описания Российской национальной библиотеки составили около 70% базы сводного каталога. В сводном каталоге русских книг XIX в. участвуют кроме того, Российская государственная библиотека (бывшая Библиотека СССР им. Ленина), Библиотека Академии Наук, Государственная Публичная Историческая библиотека и библиотеки Московского и Санкт-Петербургского университетов. По предварительным оценкам экспертов, сводный каталог фондов этих библиотек отразит около 90% репертуара русской книги с 1801 г. по 1917 г.¹⁸

Возглавила с самого начала всю работу Библиотека им. Ленина. Это было неверно и нелогично, так как уже отмечалось, что бóльшая часть базы — печатная карточка Российской национальной библиотеки, но вполне соответствовало духу того времени: Библиотека СССР им. Ленина была главной библиотекой Союза, головным учреждением для всех республиканских библиотек. Но время не повернуть вспять, сейчас уже вряд ли стоит ломать отработанную систему и начатую работу следует довести до конца.

Первоначально предполагалось издание Сводного каталога в 80 а затем в 120 томах.¹⁹ Сверка базовой картотеки велась по цепочке, массив по частям передавался из библиотеки в библиотеку и пополнялся методом 'снежного кома'. К настоящему времени базовая картотека (свыше 640 тысяч описаний) сверена с фондами библиотек-участниц и с помощью Российской книжной палаты вводится в ЭВМ, в системе АЙСИС введено уже около 80 тысяч карточек. С 1987 г. из Сводного каталога XIX в. выделен период 1801—1825 гг. в самостоятельный раздел (общий предполагаемый объем — 12 тысяч описаний, 4 тома). Кроме прежних 6 библиотек-участниц к этой части подключился Российский государственный архив древних актов (РГАДА). С 1992 г. решено силами Российской государственной и Российской национальной библиотек создавать машиночитаемую базу, сейчас создан оригинал-макет 1-го тома по букву 'Е' на основе формата МЕККА, имеющего в основе US-MARC. Попутно хотелось бы отметить, что логичнее было бы сразу же изменить хронологические рамки и отодвинуть границу до 1830 г., тогда наши работы полностью соответствовали бы хронологическим границам, принятым Консорциу-

¹⁷ История Государственной ордена Трудового Красного Знамени Публичной библиотеки им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Ленинград, 1963, с. 206—207.

¹⁸ Соколинский Е.К. (примечание 16), с. 13.

¹⁹ Там же.

мом Европейских библиотек, и могли бы быть включены в этот проект без каких-либо изменений и дополнений. Пока, однако, достигнуто соглашение о включении в проект Консорциума сведений о русских книгах XVIII в. и первой четверти XIX в.

По принятой в 1988 г. 'Долгосрочной программе создания системы ретроспективной национальной библиографии СССР'²⁰ предполагалось, что по завершении в 2005 г. работ над 'Сводным каталогом русской книги XIX в.' по фондам шести крупнейших библиотек, другие библиотеки, прежде всего, областные, краевые и крупные универсальные, а также вузовские проведут сверку своих фондов с 'Каталогом', выявят и подготовят свои дополнения к нему, что в целом может составить репертуар отечественной печати указанного периода. Схема эта, в принципе логичная, может быть сохранена, однако уже на данном этапе следует совершенно четко представлять себе следующее: когда создавалась 'печатная карточка' на издания XIX века, а это, напомним, были 1920-е—1950-е гг., при декларированной официальной полноте рекаталогизации, в основе ее лежал жестко соблюдаемый классовый подход, а именно, рекаталогизации не подвергались по тогдашним оценкам 'идеологически вредные' пласты литературы, прежде всего церковная и религиозная, черносотенная, значительная часть монархической литературы. Таким образом, значительный массив литературы, без которой немыслимо представить печать России XIX в., оказалась за пределами включенного массива, и сейчас надо ставить вопрос о ее выявлении и включении в 'Сводный каталог'.

Принцип идеологического подхода к отбору соблюдался неукоснительно. Достаточно лишь одного примера для пояснения того, что было с несогласными. Известный русский историк библиографии Мария Васильевна Машкова, работавшая в то время в группе рекаталогизации, в конце 1940-х—начале 1950-х гг., подверглась 'идеологической чистке' за отсутствие 'классового подхода к отбору' включаемой в рекаталогизацию литературы, состоящему в попытке даже не включить, а просто собрать в отдельном ящике сведения об исключенных из массива изданиях, была уволена из Публичной библиотеки с формулировкой о некомпетентности и несоответствии уровню работы. Документы об этом сохранились в ее личном деле в архиве Российской национальной библиотеки.²¹ Подобных примеров можно было бы привести бесчисленное множество.

Кроме этих работ по созданию отечественного репертуара книг XIX в.

²⁰ Проект 'Долгосрочной программы создания системы ретроспективной национальной библиографии в СССР'. Машинопись. 4 л. Хранится в отделе библиографии и краеведения Российской национальной библиотеки.

²¹ Архив РНБ, ф. 10/1. Личное дело М.В. Машковой, л. 43, 48. См. также: Мухеева Г.В. Мария Васильевна Машкова // Книжное дело, 1993, № 4, с. 62—64.

в Российской книжной палате идет многолетняя кропотливая работа по созданию репертуара печати XX в. Трудности и исторического, и идеологического характера, существовавшие в разные исторические периоды, неизбежно осложняют и эту работу. Кстати, следует указать, что над всеми сводными каталогами довлеют и материальные сложности, все более усугубляющиеся, ибо, как известно, создание таких огромных библиографических массивов — дело трудоемкое и капиталоемкое.

В России осуществляются работы и над другими сводными каталогами: по видам изданий (газет, листовок, карт, нот);²² по регионам²³ — общеизвестны успехи по созданию репертуара сибирской печати, достигнутые нашими новосибирскими коллегами.²⁴

Не могу не коснуться и еще одного принципиального, методологического вопроса, без решения которого невозможно создание национального репертуара печати в России. Долгое время в стране национальная библиография понималась как государственная, между ними ставился знак равенства, и как отмечалось в свое время в известном словаре 'Книговедение', — государственная библиография является 'самой целесообразной и распространенной формой национальной библиографии'.²⁵ В этом прослеживался все тот же классовый подход, та же идеологическая сущность, когда игнорировались значительные по объему и неоценимые по своей научной, исторической и культурной значимости массивы русской зарубежной литературы. В последнее время на страницах отечественной профессиональной библиографоведческой и книговедческой печати наблюдался просто натиск статей о проблемах национальной библиографии вообще и 'Россики', в частности.²⁶ Теоретически для нас эта проблема решена, немаловажный вклад в ее решение внесли мои московские коллеги Б.А. Семеновкер²⁷ и В.И. Харламов.²⁸ Теперь пора делать практические выводы. Национальный репертуар печати немыслим без воссоздания репертуара русской зарубежной книги и периодики и

²² Описание уже вышедших каталогов даны в изд.: Книговедение (примечание 3), с. 49. Последние данные о проводимых работах содержатся в протоколе заседания Ученого совета Российской национальной библиотеки от 24 ноября 1995 г. (Хранится у Ученого секретаря Библиотеки).

²³ Книги о Доне и Северном Кавказе, XVIII в.—20-е гг. XX в. (сводный электронный каталог, готовится к печати).

²⁴ Сводный каталог сибирской и дальневосточной книги, XVIII в.—1917 г. (оригинал-макет рукописи в ГПНТБ СО РАН, готовится к печати).

²⁵ Книговедение (примечание 3), с. 149.

²⁶ Харламов В.И. Русская зарубежная книга как библиографическая категория // Библиография, 1994, № 6, с. 11—20.

²⁷ Семеновкер Б.А. Государственная библиография в информационном обществе. Москва, 1991, с. 10—14; Его же. Концепция государственной библиографии // Советская библиография, 1991, № 2, с. 3—18 (в соавт. с А.Л. Муратовым) и др.

²⁸ Харламов В.И. (примечание 26).

учета всей литературы о России, вышедшей в других странах. Поскольку здесь отсутствуют все три, названные в начале моего доклада факторы (обязательный экземпляр, текущий библиографический учет (в значительной степени) и наличие специального библиографического учреждения), дело осложняется еще больше, чем при создании ретроспективного свода изданий, опубликованных в самой России. Наметилось несколько направлений в решении этой проблемы, и все они правомочны, одно не исключает другое, они должны сосуществовать вместе. Одно — описание коллекций русского зарубежья и иностранной литературы о России в каждой отдельно взятой библиотеке. А затем объединение этих сведений в общий банк данных. Это — генеральный путь Российской государственной библиотеки в Москве. Она составила долгосрочную программу и разослала ее в крупнейшие библиотеки и региональные центры России, подключилась к этой программе и Российская национальная (Публичная) библиотека в Петербурге. Создание такого общероссийского свода сведений позволит, образно говоря, ответить на вопрос ‘что есть из Россики в наших фондах?’ Как бы составной частью этого направления является создание территориальных сводных каталогов, прежде всего периодических изданий русского зарубежья, известны московский и петербургский каталоги.²⁹ Кстати, сейчас идет завершение 2-го дополненного издания сводного каталога русской зарубежной периодики в библиотеках и архивах Санкт-Петербурга, существенно отличающегося от первого, ибо за последние годы фонды наших библиотек значительно пополнились ранее отсутствовавшими в них названиями. Однако ни один из этих путей не даст нам ответа на вопрос ‘что же было издано в русском зарубежье и в других странах о России?’. Ответить на этот вопрос весьма непросто, хотя существенную помощь в этом оказывают известные работы М. Шатова,³⁰ Майкла,³¹ Мальклез,³² Симмонса,³³ В. Залевски,³⁴ Куликовски³⁵ и многих других зарубежных специалистов.

²⁹ Материалы к Сводному каталогу периодических и продолжающихся изданий Российского зарубежья в библиотеках Москвы (1917—1990). Москва, 1991. 87 с.; Сводный каталог русских зарубежных периодических и продолжающихся изданий в библиотеках Санкт-Петербурга (1917—1992 гг.) / Ред. Г.В. Михеева; Науч. ред. Л.А. Шилов. Санкт-Петербург, 1993, 142 с.

³⁰ M. Schatoff, *Half a Century of Russian Serials, 1917–1968: Cumulative Index of Serials Published Outside the USSR*. New York, 1969–1972. 5 vols.

³¹ K. Maichel, *Guide to Russian Reference Books*. Stanford, 1962–1964. 2 vols.

³² L. N. Malclès, *Les Sources du travail bibliographique*. Genève, 1950–1958. 3 vols.

³³ J. S. G. Simmons, *Russian Bibliography, Libraries and Archives*. Oxford, 1973. xviii, 76 pp.

³⁴ W. Zalewski, *Fundamentals of Russian Reference Work in the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Stanford (edb-form); etc.

³⁵ A. Kulikowski, ‘A Neglected Source: The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917’, *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 3 (1989), pp. 89–102, and ‘The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917: An Update’, *Solanus*, New Series, vol. 9 (1995), pp. 13–23.

Однако, и это естественно, во всех работах имеются значительные пропуски.

Российская национальная библиотека, будучи одной из двух национальных библиотек России, поставила перед собой задачу и уже в течение трех лет ведет работу по созданию 'Указателя библиографических пособий по Россике' (*Guide to Rossica Bibliographies*). К настоящему времени выявлено свыше 4 тысяч указателей, словарей, энциклопедий. Наша работа будет называться 'Предварительный список', поскольку и в ней не может идти речь об исчерпывающей полноте, но уже сейчас ясно, что это наиболее полный свод библиографических материалов по Россике, когда-либо существовавший. Составляют его такие известные специалисты, как Б.Л. Кандель и Г.П. Почепко. Автор данного сообщения является научным редактором этого издания, известный ученый и библиограф И.В. Гудовщикова — научным консультантом. Работу предполагается издать в конце 1996 г.

Таковы лишь немногие проблемы и перспективы ретроспективной общей (универсальной) библиографии в России. Естественно, что их значительно больше, чем удалось осветить. Много нерешенных проблем и в области специальной (отраслевой) библиографии. Однако рамки короткого сообщения не позволяют раскрыть их все.

Russian Retrospective Bibliography: Problems and Perspectives

The task of compiling a full retrospective bibliography of Russian printed books has been made more difficult by the lack of continuous and stable systems for legal deposit and for registration of current material. Historical and ideological factors have resulted in library holdings and national bibliographical resources which are less than complete.

Various projects have been completed (the creation of union catalogues of publications of the time of Peter the Great and of the eighteenth century) and some are under way. Holdings of major Russian libraries of material printed between 1800 and 1917 are recorded in a card catalogue which is currently being made into a database. The records for books printed up to 1825 will be incorporated into the database being mounted by the Consortium of European Research Libraries. Work is also being done on the twentieth century.

Problems which have to be addressed are: the exclusion in Soviet times of such categories as religious, anti-Semitic and monarchist publications; and the Soviet idea that national bibliography means state bibliography, resulting in the absence of records for Russian literature and literature about Russia published abroad. Both the Russian State Library and the National Library of Russia are beginning to compile bibliographies of such material.

A Survey of Printed Books in Church Slavonic in Collections Outside the Former USSR

Christine Thomas

Church Slavonic books are scattered all over the world, some in the most unlikely places.¹ This survey is a first attempt to list institutions where collections are held and catalogues or articles devoted to them (both about individual copies and about how collections were formed)—this, not as an isolated exercise, but in the hope that it can be used as the basis for an international union catalogue.

The survey covers Europe and North America. At the end of 1994 I sent questionnaires to likely institutions and would like to thank all the people who found the time to respond. The list (below) is based largely on replies to the questionnaire, but I have also included (with a question mark) some libraries which are almost certain to have some relevant books in their collections, even though I received no reply from them. Additional information has been taken from existing catalogues. My questionnaire asked for information about books specifically in *Church Slavonic* and did not have any chronological limits. In the light of replies received I am coming round to the idea that the scope should be widened to include books in cyrillic script of all kinds and should be narrowed down to books printed up to the end of the eighteenth century. I will say more about this later.

The arguments for producing a catalogue of books held in the countries where they were printed do not need to be rehearsed, but I would like to restate the good reasons for studying collections of books held outside their native lands. These have been brought home to me as I have been studying the replies to the questionnaire.

Firstly, there is the contribution that such study can make to our knowledge of the history of printing in East Slavonic lands. It is possible to find unique items, books of which copies have not survived in the place where they were printed. In 1938 John Barnicot was able to report on nineteen books not previously recorded, eighteen in England and one in the Sparwenfeld collection in the University of Uppsala.² Barnicot and Simmons's article in *Oxford Slavonic Papers* in 1951 added another three to the list.³

¹ See, for example: J. S. G. Simmons, 'Early-Printed Cyrillic Books at Lambeth and Valletta', *Solanus*, no. 3 (July 1968), pp. 10, 11.

² John Barnicot, *Neizvestnye russkie staropechatnye knigi naidennye v Anglii* (*Some Unknown Russian Early Printed Books found in England*) (Parizh, Izdanie Obshchestva Druzei Russkoi Knigi, 1938).

³ J. D. A. Barnicot & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Some Unrecorded Early-printed Books in English Libraries', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. II (1951), pp. 98–118, [5] plates.

In 1953 Harvard College Library acquired the only known copy of Fedorov's 1574 *Azbuka* which had previously belonged to Diaghilev.⁴ A second copy was acquired by the British Library in 1982, a copy which had been in private ownership in England since at least the eighteenth century.⁵ A more recently discovered example of an extremely rare Moscow book which has survived abroad but not in Russia, is a *Chasovnik* printed by Andronnik Timofeev Nevezha in 1598, of which copies are held both by the British Library and the Bodleian Library. Zernova's description of a book which she believed to be the 1598 *Chasovnik*⁶ was based on an imperfect copy of which the colophon was supplied in facsimile. Examination of the British Library and Bodleian copies, both of which possess an original colophon, has revealed that what Zernova described was a completely different work, with a different collation, a different number of lines to the page and a different number of headpieces. Furthermore, the British Library and Bodleian copies contain two headpieces previously unknown to Russian bibliographers; they do not feature at all in Zernova's albums of Moscow ornaments.⁷

Apart from finds of unique copies, the examination of copies held in libraries abroad of books which are less rare can sometimes make an important contribution to debates about the circumstances of their printing. Barnicot and Simmons's study of copies of the Ostrog Bible (the copy in the British Library brought back to England by Jerome Horsey probably quite soon after its publication, and the copy presented to the Bodleian Library in 1602 by Sir Richard Lee), both of which possess the 1580 and the 1581 colophon, showed that there had been only one edition of the Bible and not two, as previously believed.⁸ In more recent times, Pozdeeva's dating of the New York Public Library's copy of Fiol's *Triod' Tsvetnaia* as *ca* 1493 adds more evidence to the debate about whether or not Fiol secretly resumed his printing activities between 1493 and 1496.⁹

⁴ R. Jakobson & W. A. Jackson, 'Ivan Fedorov's Primer', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, ix (1955), no. 1, pp. 5–42.

⁵ Christine Thomas, 'Two East Slavonic Primers: Lvov, 1574 and Moscow, 1637', *The British Library Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 32–47.

⁶ A. S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoi pechati izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekakh. Svodnyi katalog* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Otdel redkikh knig, 1958), no. 14.

⁷ A. S. Zernova, *Ornamentika knig moskovskoi pechati XVI–XVII vekov (Al'bom)* (Moscow, Izdanie Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, 1952), and her *Ornamentika knig moskovskoi pechati kirillovskogo shrifta, 1677–1750* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, 1963).

⁸ Barnicot & Simmons (note 3), pp. 117, 8. (Appendix II: 'The *Editio princeps* of the Slavonic Bible').

⁹ Robert H. Davis, Jr., *Slavic and Baltic Resources at the New York Public Library: A First History and Practical Guide* (New York, Los Angeles, The NYPL and Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1994), p. 49, note 139. *Church Slavonic, Glagolitic, and Petrine Civil Script Printed Books in the New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalogue*. Described by Irina Pozdeeva. Catalogued by Zora Kipel.

The study of copies of books in collections abroad can also contribute to our knowledge of how books were disseminated. A field of study which is particularly rewarding when applied to collections of books outside their place of origin is that of provenance, both in terms of the provenance of individual books (library stamps, book-plates and ownership inscriptions) and in terms of the shape and composition of a collection in a particular library and how it came to be built. To cite just a few examples: Eszter Ojtozi's scrupulous reconstruction of the library of the Greek Catholic monastery and church in Máriapócs in north-east Hungary for her doctoral dissertation (published in an abridged version in 1982)¹⁰ and the conclusions she has drawn from the analysis of the contents of the library have helped to illuminate two dark areas in the knowledge of how books were disseminated. Hungary, until 1798, had no cyrillic press of its own, so all Church Slavonic books had to be imported. There is little evidence to indicate from where and how they were imported. Firstly, Ojtozi's study of the imprints of books in the Máriapócs library has shown that books used by the Orthodox population in Hungary were not, as previously believed, imported mainly from Russia, i.e. Moscow. Only one third of the *máriapócsi* books have Moscow imprints; the rest were printed in Ukraine or Belarus.¹¹ Secondly, her study of archives and ownership inscriptions give some indication of the process of importing; for example, six books in the collection were purchased by the printer and middleman from Uzhgorod, V. Eger, from the Lviv merchant Mikhail Dymet.¹²

A subsidiary issue, but one which, as I have been reading and following up answers to the questionnaire, I have found just as interesting as the question of what books are in what libraries, is how collections were formed in individual libraries and how this process reflects historical events and upheavals. A number of poignant examples relate to books of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in areas where there was a minority Ukrainian (or, in some places, Rusyn) population. One is the collection of Church Slavonic books in the Castle Museum in Łańcut which, like some other museum collections in south-east Poland, was formed as a result of a rescue operation to save books and other religious objects abandoned by the Ukrainian population who were deported to the USSR or to north-west Poland after the Second World War. These books were from the Greek Catholic diocese of Przemyśl, where 330 out of 650 churches were destroyed.¹³

(Forthcoming, 1996?)

¹⁰ Eszter Ojtozi, *A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbétűs könyvei=Knigi kirillovskoi pechati mariapovchanskikh bazilian*, Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak=Starye biblioteki Zatissskogo kraia, 2 (Debrecen, 1982).

¹¹ Ojtozi (note 10), p. 59 and place index, pp. 113–16.

¹² Ojtozi (note 10), p. 60 and nos. 109, 110, 111, 117, 119, 120.

¹³ Wiesław Witkowski, *Katalog starodruków cyrylickich Muzeum Zamku w Łańcutie. (Dział Sztuki Cerkiewnej.)* (Cracow, 1994), p. 6.

In Hungary the libraries of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church were treated more kindly. At least, when in 1950 monasteries were 'secularised', their libraries were not destroyed. The libraries were, however, 'nationalised' and the books were scattered. A prime example was the library of the Basilian Monastery at Máriapócs in Szabolcs-Szatmár County in the east of Hungary. Founded in 1753–56 at the same time as the Máriapócs Uniate Church, it had about 2000 books, besides a collection of liturgical books which were owned by the church and used for services. This is the collection which was reconstructed by Eszter Ojtozi.¹⁴ A parallel example is described in a catalogue of Church Slavonic books in the Prešov Scientific Library which formerly belonged to the library of the Greek Catholic eparchy of Prešov and which were also at risk when the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Slovakia was liquidated in 1950.¹⁵

At the opposite end of the spectrum, fascinating as an example of major libraries taking advantage of political upheaval (and, maybe, saving books from destruction) are purchases made by American libraries in the period of Soviet book sales in 1921–1935. In 1918 Avrahm Tsalevich Yarmolinsky (1890–1975) was appointed head of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library. A recent immigrant, he had been educated in St Petersburg and Switzerland before coming to the United States in 1913 where he studied in New York at City College and Columbia University. During Yarmolinsky's thirty-eight year period of office, the Library seized all opportunities to add to its Slavonic collections. Yarmolinsky set up exchanges with libraries in Russia, he secured purchases from sales of material offered by the Soviet government, and in the winter of 1923–1924 he went on a bookbuying expedition to Latvia, Russia and Eastern Ukraine. The NEP period was a time when Soviet librarians and officials were able to associate relatively freely and openly with the Americans. Nevertheless, it comes as a surprise to discover that one of the founders of Soviet librarianship was at pains to help them to buy and export early-printed books. In 1923 L. B. Khavkina (1871–1949) wrote to the NYPL director E. H. Anderson, offering advice on how to obtain export licenses: 'I have made enquiries everywhere and can tell you that second hand dealers are in greater quantity in Petrograd ... the export of new editions is very easy, but difficulties can arise with old books. It is possible to obtain an individual permit for exporting them in showing that the New York Public Library in the days of *tzarizm* possessed a very complete collection of works on [R]ussian revolutionary movement and counted many [R]ussian revolutioners [*sic*] among its patrons.'¹⁶ Many rare items were also acquired by the New York Public

¹⁴ Ojtozi (note 10).

¹⁵ *Východoslovanské tlače do r. 1800 v ŠVK Prešov*, zostavil Jozef Šelepec (Prešov, Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 1989).

¹⁶ Davis (note 9), p. 44.

Library from the 'Antiquariat' catalogues of Mezkhkniga.¹⁷ Harvard University Library and the Hoover Institution were also purchasing extensively at this time. In the 1930s, in spite of the Great Depression, the New York Public Library acquired some of its most important early-printed Slavonic books, for example, Fedorov's 1564 *Apostol*, his 1574 *Apostol*, one of the 'anonymous' Gospels printed in Moscow and a *Fiol Triod' Tsvetnaia*.¹⁸

Also of interest is the presence in libraries of the collections of individual collectors. For example, Swedish libraries benefited from the collections of Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727), author of the *Lexicon Slavonicum*, who as early as 1705, began to donate parts of his enormous collections to various Swedish libraries. Most of his Slavonic collection was donated to Uppsala University Library in 1721 and 1722, and a part was donated by his grandson to the Diocesan Library of Västerås in 1774.¹⁹ From Kjellberg's catalogue of Slavonic imprints in Uppsala University Library, it is possible to see which books were donated by Sparwenfeld.²⁰ A striking example of the value of studying individual collections and copies is provided by a small collection, recently discovered in Halle, of books formerly in the library of Thomas Consett (1677?–1730), chaplain in the British factories in Arkhangelsk, then Moscow, then St Petersburg, between 1717 (1715?) and 1727, and author of *The Present State and Regulations of the Church of Russia* (London, 1729). This collection is illuminating not only in its composition, but also because of the annotations and inscriptions which are in the books. For example, a note in Feofan Prokopovich's *Pravda voli monarshei* (Moscow, 1722) indicates that it was given to Consett by the author soon after its publication.²¹

The wealth of East Slavonic imprints in Prague collections²² is due in large part to the legacy of prominent figures in the Czech Renaissance of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, such as Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), Václav Hanka (1791–1861) and Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861) who were pioneers in the study of cyrillic printing. Šafařík's collection was purchased by the National Museum in Prague after his death.²³ A catalogue of these Prague collections which included notes of provenance and

¹⁷ Davis (note 9), p. 47.

¹⁸ Pozdeeva (note 9), no. 1.

¹⁹ Ulla Birgegård, *Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld and the Lexicon Slavonicum: His Contribution to 17th-Century Slavonic Lexicography*, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, vol. XXIII (Uppsala, 1985), p. 4.

²⁰ Lennart Kjellberg, *Catalogue des imprimés slavons des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1951).

²¹ Mikhail Fundaminskii, 'Knigi iz biblioteki Tomasa Konsetta v sobranii Franckesche Stiftung Halle' (forthcoming, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 1996).

²² See Františka Sokolová, 'Cyrilské tisky v českých knihovnách', in *Najstarsze druki cerkiewnosłowjańskie i ich stosunek do tradycji rękopiśmiennej. Materiały z sesji Kraków 7–10/XI 1991* (Cracow, 1993), pp. 291–300.

²³ Sokolová (note 22), p. 293.

ownership inscriptions would surely yield a wealth of interesting information.

Ownership inscriptions in the relatively small number of books in Oxford and Cambridge college libraries (described by Barnicot and Simmons),²⁴ many of them donated by travellers returning from Russia in the seventeenth century, provide insight into Anglo–Russian relations of the seventeenth century.

Existing Catalogues

In most Western countries, the study of early-printed East Slavonic books has never been a major field of study, and many collections remain unexplored. Nevertheless, as you will see from the list, quite a number of preliminary investigations have been made and documented. In the countries of Eastern and Central Europe more concerted work has been undertaken, much of it stimulated by the then Lenin Library's noble and ambitious initiative in the 1970s to compile a union catalogue (*Svodnyi katalog*). The fact that a strong body of public opinion in bibliographical circles helped to bring this project into being was stressed by E. L. Nemirovskii, in his introduction to the first issue of *V pomoshch' sostaviteliu Svodnogo kataloga . . .*: 'V poslednie gody v nashei strane i za rubezhom neodnokratno vyskazyvalos' mnenie o neobkhodimosti sozdaniia takogo kataloga . . .'.²⁵ One of the most persistent campaigners 'abroad' for a union catalogue has been my compatriot John Simmons. In 1964 when giving an address in Moscow at the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of printing in Russia, he surprised his audience by departing from his prepared text and exhorting Russian bibliographers to start work on an international union catalogue of early-printed cyrillica.²⁶ He followed this up with a letter sent out in 1966 to bibliographers in twenty-two countries.²⁷ At this stage the idea was to concentrate on books printed up to 1600.

In 1976 all seemed set fair. The Lenin Library's strategic plan for 1976–1980 included a definite work plan towards the compilation of a union catalogue of books in cyrillic and glagolitic types of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century (with short descriptions and holdings notes), and separate volumes devoted to individual printing houses. This initiative engendered research into holdings of libraries in the USSR and in a number of the former 'socialist countries'. Some preliminary union lists were published, for example 'Slavonic cyrillic incunabula and paleotypes in collections in Bulgaria', published in

²⁴ Barnicot & Simmons (note 3).

²⁵ *V pomoshch' sostaviteliu Svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdaniï kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov. Metodicheskie rekomendatsii*, vyp. 1 (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Otdel redkikh knig, 1976), p. 3.

²⁶ J. S. G. Simmons, 'Privetstvie na Obshchem Zasedanii Otdeleniia istorii i Otdeleniia literatury i iazyka Akademii nauk SSSR v Moskve, 2-go marta 1964 g.' (typescript).

²⁷ Letter dated 4 August 1966 (typescript).

1981,²⁸ and a union listing of cyrillic imprints in Czech libraries, published as an appendix to an exhibition catalogue in 1982.²⁹ In Hungary a number of excellent catalogues were produced by several specialists, most notably Eszter Ojtozi of Debrecen University.³⁰

Apart from published catalogues, a vast amount of data about holdings in the former socialist countries must still be held in the Russian State Library (formerly the Lenin Library) and in the libraries which collected information. For example, catalogue records for all pre-1621 Church Slavonic books held in Czech libraries were sent in to the Lenin Library and further information about holdings of books published up to 1800 was collected and kept in Prague.³¹

Catalogues produced in the West are, almost without exception, the result of the dedication and enthusiasm of a particular individual or a few individuals in a particular country. In 1951 Lennart Kjellberg published a catalogue of pre-1801 glagolitic and cyrillic imprints in Uppsala University Library and has since added to it the holdings of other Swedish libraries.³² In the United States Edward Kasinec has done a lot of work identifying American holdings and, maybe even more importantly, has stimulated others to do research. One remarkable result is Irina Pozdeeva's catalogue of Church Slavonic books in the New York Public Library. Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecka has published a catalogue of East Slavonic books and manuscripts in Canada.³³ In Britain the work of John Simmons has ensured that all British holdings have been listed and partially described.³⁴

Scope of Existing Catalogues

The majority of catalogues which exist cover the period from the beginning of cyrillic printing up to end of eighteenth century. Narrower in its timespan is Badalić's bibliography of books printed for the South Slavs up to 1600 (includ-

²⁸ 'Slavianksie kirillovskie inkunabuly i paleotipy v knigokhranilishchakh Bolgarii', sostavili Petr Atanasov i Lidiia Dragomolova, in *V pomoshch' sostaviteliu Svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdaniĭ kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov. Metodicheskie ukazaniia*, vyp. 6 (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Narodnaia biblioteka Kirilla i Mefodiia, Otdel staropechatnykh, redkikh i tsennykh izdaniĭ, 1981), pp. 5–27. In all, eight issues of *V pomoshch' sostaviteliu* . . . were published (between 1976 and 1986).

²⁹ 'Soupis starých cyrilských tisků v českých knihovnách pro Souborný katalog vydávaný Státní knihovnou V. I. Lenina v Moskvě', in *Cyrilské tisky. Výstava z fondu Státní knihovny ČSR pořádaná k 400. výročí úmrtí Ivana Fjodorova* (Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR, 1982), pp. 81–100.

³⁰ For a full list of Ojtozi's catalogues, see in *List* . . . under **HUNGARY, Special Catalogues**.

³¹ See Sokolová (note 22), p. 296.

³² Kjellberg (note 19). Holdings of Swedish libraries other than Uppsala University Library have been added in manuscript to the master copy.

³³ Iraida I. Gerus-Tarnawecka, *East Slavonic Cyrillica in Canadian Repositories: Cyrillic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, Research Institute of Volyn, no. 47 (Winnipeg, Society of Volyn, 1981).

³⁴ For a full list of catalogues and articles see below in *List* . . . under **UNITED KINGDOM**.

ing books in roman, cyrillic and glagolitic scripts).³⁵ This is a pioneering work, since it gives library holdings from a huge number of libraries (unfortunately not separately listed anywhere in the bibliography) in both Eastern and Western Europe. At the other end of the spectrum is Pozdeeva's catalogue of NYPL holdings, which describes only one collection, but with no chronological limits. She makes a strong case for the need to include everything in Church Slavonic up to the present day.³⁶ Her arguments are convincing, but I have come to the conclusion that, for practical reasons, if another *Svodnyi katalog* is attempted, it will have to be limited to the period up to 1800. I am also of the opinion that all books in cyrillic script (in its widest definition) should be included.

Rules and Standards Used in Catalogues

The most usual pattern of description is: abridged, conventionalized title; place of printing; year (and sometimes day and month) of printing; format; foliation; reference to other bibliographies where the book is described (e.g. Karataev³⁷ or Zernova³⁸). There are a few articles and catalogues which give fuller descriptions of rare items, such as Barnicot and Simmons,³⁹ and Tyrrell and Simmons⁴⁰ in Britain, which give full descriptions of editions not in Karataev. These two works also describe watermarks, which none of the others do. Only a few catalogues have very full notes about provenance and ownership inscriptions, for example, Barnicot and Simmons,⁴¹ Tyrrell and Simmons⁴² in Britain, Ojtozi in Hungary,⁴³ Crone in Denmark,⁴⁴ Gawrys in Sweden⁴⁵ and Pozdeeva in her New York Public Library catalogue.⁴⁶

³⁵ Josip Badalić, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*, 2., verbesserte Auflage (Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GBMH, 1966).

³⁶ Pozdeeva (note 9), (typescript), pp. 5, 6.

³⁷ I. P. Karataev, *Opisanie slaviano-russkikh knig, napechatannykh kirillovskimi bukvami*, t. 1. S 1491 po 1652 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1883).

³⁸ Zernova (note 6).

³⁹ Barnicot & Simmons (note 3).

⁴⁰ E. P. Tyrrell & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Slavonic Books before 1700 in Cambridge Libraries', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. III, 5 (1963), pp. 382–400.

⁴¹ Barnicot & Simmons (note 3).

⁴² Tyrrell & Simmons (note 40).

⁴³ Ojtozi (note 30).

⁴⁴ Helene Crone, 'Gamle slaviske tryk i Det Kongelige Bibliotek' (Slavonic Palaeotypes in the Royal Library), *Fund og Forskning i det Kongelige biblioteks Samlinger*, IV (1957), pp. 58–69.

⁴⁵ Eugeniusz Gawrys, *Katalog över slaviska handskrifter och tryck från 1500-, 1600-, 1700-talen i Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Västerås*, Acta Bibliothecae Arosiensis, 2. Slavica Arosiensia, 2 (Västerås, 1960).

⁴⁶ Pozdeeva (note 9).

Next Steps

This is not the time or place to enter into a detailed discussion about rules and standards—decisions about these need to be made in the countries where the books were printed and where there is a concentration of expertise—but I would like to make a couple of general points.

Firstly, it is very important that all the groundwork that was done on drawing up of rules, methodology and strategy in connection with the then Lenin Library's *Svodnyi katalog* project should not be ignored. It would be a waste of resources either to start from scratch and reinvent the wheel or, worse still, for lots of local projects to be set up, all using different rules and different standards.

Secondly, in attempting to salvage what was good in the 1970s and 1980s, i.e. the cooperation on scholarly projects between the countries of the then socialist bloc, we should also seize the opportunity brought about by political changes to make this a truly international project, incorporating holdings of countries all over the world.

Apart from political changes, the main difference between now and the 1980s is the widespread use of the computer. Therefore, my third point is that it would be foolish to draw up rules which did not take into consideration international bibliographical and cataloguing standards and the requirements of a computer database.

To conclude, for the successful completion of an international union catalogue, a number of stages are needed. These do not necessarily need to be done in chronological order; some can be done concurrently. We need to establish where collections are. Although my list (below) still has some gaps to be filled, I hope that it covers all major collections and the majority of smaller ones. I would be glad to receive information about collections which I have omitted.

We need to compile finding lists of relevant items in those institutions. In some countries, this work is largely complete; in some there may be a bibliographer on the spot with the will, time and expertise to do this work; in others it may be necessary to find funding for peripetatic bibliographers (perhaps from 'East Slav lands') to do the research.

It will be necessary to determine the rules and scope of a union catalogue. The lion's share of responsibility for this task obviously lies with scholars in the countries where the books were printed, but needs to be done in full cognisance of modern bibliographical and computer standards.

It will be necessary to complete the task of making detailed and full descriptions of every edition, following the high standards set by bibliographers who have worked and work in the libraries with extensive collections; this task will of course need to be done in the countries of origin where bibliographers have

access to a large number of copies. It would also be desirable to have albums of decorations for those areas which have not been covered (notably Belarus).

When this is done we should compare copies held abroad with these exemplary descriptions and add local information on provenance, ownership inscriptions, bindings, etc. For this stage it may also be necessary to enlist the help of 'peripatetic bibliographers'.

To close, I would like to mention a couple of recent international ventures which may be of relevance. The Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), more specifically, its major project of the moment—establishing a union database recording all printing of the hand-press period (i.e. until *ca* 1830) in Europe—may offer long-term possibilities. The American bibliographic utility RLIN will mount on its database records received from contributing libraries and the records will then be upgraded, using UNIMARC and ISBD (A).⁴⁷ However, this project offers no immediate solution since at present RLIN has only a modern cyrillic character set, and no provision for Church Slavonic characters. The addition of Church Slavonic would have to take its turn in a queue (even Greek has yet to be added) and would cost \$50,000.

An exciting recent development is a project coordinated by Professor William Veder of Amsterdam and supervised by Professor Iaroslav Isajevych (Lviv) and Professor F. J. Thomson (Antwerp), and funded for three years by the European Union INTAS programme. In its initial stage a database of all cyrillic editions printed in the Polish Commonwealth to 1800 with an inventory of copies held in Lviv libraries will be produced. It will be done on personal computers, using an updated version of a SDDR (Syntax Driven Data Recorder) created in 1981 at Nijmegen for the description of manuscripts.⁴⁸

When this project is completed, bibliographers in other countries will then have full bibliographical descriptions, based on the examination of a large number of copies, with which they can compare copies in their own libraries. If the system works well and could be extended to imprints from the other centres of cyrillic printing, then we would be well on the way to the creation of a world catalogue.

⁴⁷ For information about the CERL project, see Bob Henderson, 'Konsorcjum Europejskich Bibliotek Naukowych (CERL)', *Bibliotekarz. Miesięcznik Stowarzyszenia Bibliotekarzy Polskich i Biblioteki Publicznej m. st. Warszawy*, 1995, no. 11, pp. 6–9. Also published in: *Biblioteki w europejskich krajach postkomunistycznych w międzynarodowym kontekście (Wybór materiałów)*, Międzynarodowa Konferencja Bibliotekarzy, Kraków–Przegorzały, 3–5 sierpnia 1995. Redakcja Maria Kocójowa (Cracow, PTB, 1995), pp. 71–6.

⁴⁸ *Polata knigopisnaja*, 1987, no. 17/18, pp. 5–29.

Appendix: List of Collections of Books in Church Slavonic in Europe (excluding the former USSR) and North America

ALBANIA

National Library of Albania: has about 60 post-1800 items (to be found in the general systematic and alphabetical card catalogues). There may be some earlier imprints in the rare books collections.

AUSTRIA

Collections

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: according to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* . . . 1883) has Karataev, nos. 15, 33, 40, 45, 48, 52, 57, 63.

Nine of its 16th-century cyrillic books printed for the South Slavs are listed in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Bibliothek der Wiener Mechitaristen-Congregation, Vienna: 8 books in Church Slavonic printed at the press of the Congregation of Mechitarists between 1821 and 1894, listed in Wytrzens (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Universitätsbibliothek Wien: 1 book in Church Slavonic printed in 1853 at the press of the Congregation of Mechitarists, described in Wytrzens (see below).

Special Catalogues

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*. 2., verbesserte Auflage. Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GMBH, 1966. Includes holdings of the Austrian National Library.

Wytrzens, Günther, *Die slavischen und Slavica betreffenden Drucke der Wiener Mechitharisten. Ein Beitrag zur Wiener Druck- und zur österreichischen Kulturgeschichte*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Bd. 460. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Literaturwissenschaft, Nr. 8).

BELGIUM

Collections

Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels?

Small collections are also held in some monasteries, e.g. Chevetogne, Maredsous, Steenbrugge, as well as some libraries, such as that of the Bollandists in Brussels.

BULGARIA

Collections

Gradska biblioteka, Berkovitsa

Tsŭrkva "Sv. Georgi", Etropol

Dragalevski manastir (near Sofia)

Narodna biblioteka "Ivan Vazov", Plovdiv

Natsionalen muzei "Rilski manastir", Rila

Tsŭrkva "Sv. Troitsa", Ruse

Tsŭrkva "Uspenie Bogorodichno", Samokov

Muzei "Aleko Konstantinov", Svishtov

Tsŭrkva "Sv. arkh. Mikhail", Seslavtsy (near Sofia)

Zhenski manastir, Sopot

Nauchen arkhiv pri Bŭlgarskata akademija na naukite, Sofia

Narodna biblioteka "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii", Sofia: has about 600 items described in a card catalogue of books in Church Slavonic from the 15th to the 20th century.

Tsŭrkovno istorichesko-arkheologicheski muzei, Sofia

Mitropolitskata biblioteka, Vratsa

Special Catalogues

'Slavianskie kirillovskie inkunabuly i paleotipy v knigokhranilishchakh Bolgarii', In: *V pomoshch' sostaviteliam Svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdaniĭ kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov: Metodicheskie ukazaniia*, vyp. 6 (Moscow, 1981), pp. 5–27.

Articles

See list of articles in *V pomoshch' sostaviteliam*, vyp. 6, pp. 25, 26.

CANADA

Collections

St Andrew's College, Winnipeg (Ohijenko Collection)—27 items

Basilian Fathers' Museum and Library in Mundare, Alberta—18 items

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto

Special Collections, Dafoe Library at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg

Private library of Dr G. Gerych, Ottawa (Kolessa Collection)

All are listed in Gerus-Tarnawecka (see below).

Special Catalogues

Gerus-Tarnawecka, Iraida I., *East Slavic Cyrillica in Canadian Repositories: Cyrillic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*. Winnipeg, Society of Volyn, 1981. (Research Institute of Volyn, no. 47.) Lists 73 items to 1800.

CROATIA

Collections

Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, Zagreb: for the period 1483–1835: 70 items in Church Slavonic; 645 in other cyrillic scripts.

Staroslavenski zavod, Zagreb

Hrvatska Akademija znanosti i umetnosti, Zagreb

Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zagreb: has 156 editions from the 15th to mid-19th centuries, including 27 editions in 110 copies from the 15th–17th (described in Kusturica, see below).

Staroslavenski zavod, Zagreb

Monastery libraries

Special Catalogues

Kusturica, Radojka, *Zbirka srpskih knjiga od XV do sredine XIX st.* Zagreb, 1972. (Povijesni muzej Hrvatske.)

Zbirka starih i rijetkih knjiga/ Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka (typescript/card catalogue)

Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka—CROLIST (database)

CZECH REPUBLIC

Collections

Slovanská knihovna při Národní Knihovně, Prague—128 items

Knihovna Národního muzea, Prague—53 items

Národní knihovna ČR, Prague—26 items

Státní vědecké knihovny, Brno and Olomouc—11 items

Univerzitní knihovna, Brno—10 items

Special Catalogues

Cyrilské tisky. Výstava z fondu Státní knihovny ČSR pořádaná k 400. výročí úmrtí Ivana Fjodorova. Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR, 1982. Lists all the cyrillic books housed in Czech libraries in an appendix: 'Soupis starých cyrilských tisků v českých knihovnách pro Souborný katalog vydávaný Státní knihovnou V. I. Lenina v Moskvě', pp. 81–100. List of glagolitic books, p. 101. Lists 203 cyrillic items in 229 copies.

Cyrilské a hlaholské staré tisky v českých knihovnách. Soupis a popis vzácných tisků vydaných cyrilským a hlaholským písmem. Praha, Národní knihovna (forthcoming, 1996?).

The Slovanska knihovna also has a catalogue of its cyrillic holdings to 1800 which lists about 200 items.

DENMARK

Collections

Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

66 items (cyrillic and glagolitic to 1800), described in Crone (see below)

Special Catalogues

Crone, Helene, 'Gamle slaviske tryk i Det Kongelige Bibliotek' [Slavonic Palaeotypes in the Royal Library], *Fund og Forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, IV (1957), pp. 58–69.

FINLAND

Collections

Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto, Helsinki: probably about 250 items to 1800. Of these, 44 are listed in Beliakova (see below). Others are to be found only in the library's general catalogue.

Helsingin Ortodoksisen Seurakunnan Kirjasto: about 200 18th-century church manuals in Church Slavonic. Alphabetical card catalogue.

Valamon Luostarin Kirjasto: the library has about 4000 volumes. Not certain how many are in Church Slavonic. The alphabetical and systematic catalogues are kept in the Slavonic Library in Helsinki University Library. The collections are in an out-

house of Helsinki University Library in Urajärvi, a village 120km north of Helsinki.

Special Catalogues

Beliakova, Galina, 'Redkie knigi XVI–XVIII vv.' [in Helsinki University Library]. Typescript.

FRANCE

Collections

Bibliothèque Nationale de France: not known exactly how many items. At least 80. Most items are traceable only in:

Catalogue générale des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, série en caractères non latins, 1960–1969. Paris, 1973. 2 vol. and a later edition for 1970–1973. Paris, 1983. 5 vol. Pre-1960 and post-1980 accessions are listed only in card catalogues.

Three of its 16th-century Bosnian cyrillic books printed in Venice are listed in Badalić (nos. 18/19, 20, 143/144). (See below, under **GERMANY, Special Catalogues**.)

Russian Orthodox churches in France, some of which were founded as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, also have collections of Church Slavonic books.

GERMANY

Collections

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: about 50 printed books in Church Slavonic, the oldest being *Triod' tsvetvaia*, 1491. There is no separate catalogue. Two of its Tübingen imprints are listed as nos. 92 and 100 in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main: Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its Tübingen imprint as no. 100.

Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen: has 16th–18th-century Church Slavonic books, described in *Slavica Gottingensia. Ältere Slavica* (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Library and Archive of the Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle: the 'Russian' collection includes 36 books in Church Slavonic of the 17th and 18th centuries. Among these is a collection formerly in the library of Thomas Consett (1677?–1730) which includes 14 printed books of the 17th and 18th centuries, some Russian and some Church Slavonic. Described by Fundaminskii (see below under **Special Catalogues** and **Articles**).

Landesbibliothek Kassel: has a Tübingen imprint, listed as no. 100 in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Universitätsbibliothek, Marburg: 8 items, including 3 Trubar and 1 Ludolf, listed in *Origo*, see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: has Church Slavonic books in its collections, but there is no separate catalogue. According to an annotation made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* ... 1883) has Karataev, no. 36. Its Tübingen imprints are listed in Badalić as nos. 87, 92, 100, 103. (See below under **Special Catalogues**).

Universität Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 'Biblioteca Albertina': has some Church Slavonic books, not catalogued separately. Relevant items can be traced via the systematic catalogue (for books acquired up to 1940). Under the heading 'Litera-

tura Slavica' (in vol. 30, 4) there are about 400 entries, and under the heading 'Grammatica linguarum recentium' (vol. 31,4) there are about 170 entries in the sub-section Old Slavonic/Old Bulgarian/Church Slavonic. The subject catalogue for books acquired since 1940 has about 180 entries under Church Slavonic. Badalić, no. 92 (see below under **Special Catalogues**) is a Tübingen imprint held there.

Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg: has 1 Tübingen imprint, listed as no. 83 in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen: has 5 books printed in Tübingen, listed in Vorndran and in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: the card catalogue of books up to 1830 (arranged by language) includes 18 items in Church Slavonic and 20 in Russian. Some are described by Fundaminskii (see below under **Articles**).

Special Catalogues

Slavica Gottingensia. Ältere Slavica in der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, herausgegeben von Reinhard Lauer, bearbeitet von einer Projektgruppe unter der Leitung von Ulrike Jekutsch. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995. (Opera Slavica, Neue Folge, 30). 3 vol.

Fundaminskii, M., *Die Russica-Sammlung in den Frankeschen Stiftungen Halle. Aus der Geschichte der deutsch-russischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (forthcoming, 1996).

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*, 2., verbesserte Auflage. Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GMBH, 1966. Lists the holdings of a number of German libraries.

Origo Characteris Sclavonici. Zur altbulgarischen Literatur in Marburg. Marburg, 1987. Includes 'Katalog. Altbulgarisches und cyrillo-methodianisches Schrifttum in Marburger Bibliotheken (Stand: Oktober 1986). Zusammengestellt von Herwig Gödeke. Mostly manuscripts and secondary sources, but contains 2 early-printed books in Church Slavonic (nos. 160 and 176).

Vorndran, Rolf, *Südslawische Reformationsdrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Eine Beschreibung der vorhandenen glagolitischen, kyrillischen und anderen Drucke der 'Uracher Bibelanstalt'*. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1977. (Contubernium. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Bd. 24). Describes 18 books, of which 5 are in the cyrillic alphabet, 9 in the glagolitic and 4 in the latin alphabet.

Articles

Fundaminskii, M., 'Knigi iz Biblioteki Tomasa Konsetta v sobranii Frankesche Stiftungen Halle'. (Forthcoming, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 1996).

Fundaminskii, M., 'Russica in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel als Zeugnis der niedersächsisch-russischen Beziehungen in der Neuzeit' (forthcoming).

GREECE

Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos: has 79 items from the 15th–17th centuries, described in Medaković (see below).

Special Catalogues

Medaković, Dejan, 'Stare stampane knige manastira Hilandara', In: Bogdanovic, Dimitrije, *Katalog cirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*. Belgrade, 1978, pp. 275–88.

HUNGARY

Collections

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest

Twenty-four 16th-century items, printed in 10 different places (the majority being South Slavonic or Venetian) are listed in *Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum, qui in Bibliotheca Nationali Hungariae Széchényiana asservantur. Editiones non Hungaricae et extra Hungariam impressae*, Composuerunt Elisabetha Soltész, Catharina Velenczei, Agnes W. Salgó. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1990. 3 vol.

Debreceni Egyetemi Könyvtár: its collections are described in the catalogues listed below.

Special Catalogues

Ojtozi, Eszter, *A Debreceni Egyetemi Könyvtár szláv nyelvű és szláv vonatkozású régi nyomtatványai = Slawische und Slawen betreffende alte Drucke der Universitätsbibliothek zu Debrecen*. Debrecen, 1987. (Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak = Alte Bibliotheken der Region jenseits der Theiss, 5).

Gottesmann, Dora, *Slawische Bücher der Universitätsbibliothek in Debrecen bis 1850*. Debrecen, 1963. (Publicationes Instituti Philologiae Slavicae Universitatis Debreciensis, 43).

Gottesmann, Dora, *Slawische Bücher in den Bibliotheken der Reformierten Kollegien in Debrecen und Sárospatak bis 1850*. Debrecen, 1962. (Publicationes Philologiae Slavicae Universitatis Debreciensis, 16).

Ojtozi, Eszter, 'Slawische Bücher in den Sammlungen der Universität in Debrecen bis 1850 I Mitteilung', *Slavica der Universitätsbibliothek in Debrecen*, XI, 1971, pp. 163–170.

Ojtozi, Eszter, *A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei = Knigi kirillovskoi pečati mariapovchanskikh bazilian*. Debrecen, 1982. (Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak = Starye biblioteki Zatissskogo kraia Vengrii, 2).

Földvári, Sándor and Eszter Ojtozi, *Az egri Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár cirillbetűs és glagolita könyvei = Kirillicheskie i glagolicheskie knigi Egerskoi Arkhiepiskopskoi Biblioteki*. Debrecen, 1992.

Ojtozi, Eszter, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtárának szláv és román cirillbetűs könyvei = Slavianskie i rumynskie knigi kirillovskoi pečati Biblioteki Grekokatolicheskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii [Nyíregyháza]*. Debrecen, 1985. (Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak = Starye biblioteki Zatissskogo kraia Vengrii, 4).

ITALY

Collections

Pontificium Institutum Orientale, Rome: according to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* ... 1883), has 68 items, i.e. Karataev, nos 42, 64, 76, 84, 87, 102, 119, 120, 160, 162, 174, 175, 176, 181, 195, 196, 210, 229, 248, 318, 321, 336, 342, 357, 367, 376, 382, 384, 404, 420, 432, 441, 462, 493, 516, 517, 534, 535, 538, 552, 558, 564, 566, 570, 572, 581, 582, 583, 584, 586, 590, 595, 597, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 610, 615, 624, 637, 641, 643, 650, 665, 674, 679, 691.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: some items from its collections are described in *Tre*

alfabeti and one Venice imprint in Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

According to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* ... 1883), has Karataev, nos. 4, 7, 52, 73, 108.

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice: according to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* ... 1883), has 8 items, i.e. Karataev, nos 15, 30, 44, 45, 47, 62, 73, 149.

Special Catalogues

Tre alfabeti per gli Slavi, ed. Vittorio Peri. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985. Exhibition catalogue. Describes some 38 incunabula and early-printed books held by the Vatican Library and the Library of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale.

Incunables in the Vatican Library are included in the published volumes (1985–) of *Bibliografia dei manoscritti della BAV*.

Capaldo, Mario, 'Catalogue of Slavonic books printed in Italy from the beginning to the end of the eighteenth century' (in progress).

Articles

Zelenka, I., 'Edizione liturgiche della Pecerskaja Lavra di Kiev nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem A. M. Albareda*. Rome, 1962, II, pp. 377–414.

Saitta Revignas, A., 'La raccolta Praga di manoscritti e libri liturgici in caratteri cirillici', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 29, 1961, 2, pp. 105–114.

Krajcar, J., 'Early-printed Slavonic books in the Library of the Pontifical Oriental Institute', *Orientalia christiane Periodica*, 34, 1968, pp. 105–128.

Krajcar, J. 'The East European holdings in the Library of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 48 (April 1970), pp. 265–72. (See p. 271 for early-printed cyrillica.)

Feriozzi, Tito, 'Nota bibliografica sulle cinquecentine cirilliche della Marciana', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 41 (1973), pp. 9–14.

MALTA

Collections

Royal Malta Library, Valletta: Psalter and New Testament (Ostrog, Ivan Fedorov, 1580).

Articles

Simmons, J. S. G., 'Early-printed Cyrillic Psalters at Lambeth and Valletta', *Solanus*, no. 3 (July 1968), pp. 10, 11.

THE NETHERLANDS

Collections

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden: known to have a Moscow 1669 Psalter and the Sermons of St John Chrysostom (SPb., 1778).

POLAND

Collections

Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw: a catalogue of cyrillic books, begun in 1942 by Maria Błońska, partly handwritten and partly typescript, is available in the National Library. It covers 16th–18th-century imprints and contains some 400 items, arranged in alphabetical order (and transliterated according to the Horodyski system). The library also has a number of Church Slavonic books not yet catalogued and, in some cases, not yet identified.

Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków

Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich, Kraków

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie

Muzeum Zamku w Łańcucie: its collections are described in Witkowski (see below under **Special Catalogues**).

Muzeum Historyczne w Sanoku

Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego, Sanok

Biblioteka Uniwersytecka K.U.L., Lublin

Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego

Biblioteka Raczyńskich, Poznań

Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, Kórnik-Zamek

Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Warsaw

Suwałki Region: twenty-nine private collections of Old Believer books (described by Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, see below).

Special Catalogues

Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, Zoja, *Starowiercy w Polsce i ich księgi*. Olsztyn, 1995. (Rozprawy i materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych w Olsztynie, no. 145).

Lists in an appendix 138 Old Believer printed books held in private collections in the Suwałki Region.

Witkowski, Wiesław, *Katalog starodruków cyrylickich Muzeum Zamku w Łańcucie (Dział Sztuki Cerkiewnej)*. Cracow, 1994. This catalogue covers the period 1574–1816 and lists 109 items.

Articles

Incunabula que in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur, moderante Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa. Wrocław, 1970. Includes 8 cyrillic incunables.

Błońska, M., 'Druki cyrylickie w Polsce', *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, 1962, no. 3, pp. 229–236.

ROMANIA

Collections

Biblioteca Academiei Române, Bucharest: according to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie* . . . 1883) has Karataev, nos. 12, 46, 47, 100.

Biblioteca Institutului de Istorie a Universității, Bucharest

Biserica Sf. Nicolae, Brașov

Academia Română, Cluj

Biblioteca Universitară Cluj

Mitropolia orthodoxa, Sibiu

Special Catalogues

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*, 2., verbesserte Auflage. Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GBMH, 1966.

Supplement, pp. 125–30, gives holdings of sixteenth-century Romanian cyrillic books held in the libraries listed above.

SLOVAKIA

Collections

Univerzitná knižnica Bratislava: has some 16th–18th-century imprints, findable only under author or title in general catalogues.

Prešov State Scientific Library: 186 items to 1800, of which 15 are in Church Slavonic, are described in *Východoslovanské tlače* (see below).

Special Catalogues

Východoslovanské tlače do r. 1800 v ŠVK Prešov. Zostavil Jozef Šelepec. Prešov, Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 1989.

SLOVENIA

Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana: has several thousand cyrillic books (total includes books in Serbian and Macedonian) including about 100–150 books published up to 1800. There is no separate catalogue; all are entered in the general catalogues, some on cards and some in the machine-readable catalogue.

Has the collection of Bartholomäus Kopitar which contains 3 cyrillic incunables and 40 16th-century cyrillic printed books.

According to annotations made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie ...* 1883) the library has Karataev, nos. 8, 50, 52, 55, 56, 63.

Special Catalogues

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*, 2., verbesserte Auflage. Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GMBH, 1966.

Lists 9 cyrillic 16th-century books printed for the South Slavs, held in the NUK, Ljubljana.

Articles

Lukan, Walter, 'Kopitars Privatbibliothek', in: *Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar. Neue Studien und Materialien anlässlich seines 150. Todestages*. Wien, Kolmar, Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 1995. (Osthefte/Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Sonderband 11. Reihe zu 'Österreichische Osthefte'), pp. 221–337.

SPAIN

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: no special catalogue. The BN has a systematic card catalogue which can be searched under the number 801.1. Known to have a copy of the Ostrog Bible.

Biblioteca, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial: according to annotation made by J. S. G. Simmons in Karataev (*Opisanie ...* 1883), has Karataev, no. 15.

SWEDEN

Collections

(Numbers are of pre-*grazhdanka* cyrillic, and glagolitic to 1800)

Uppsala universitetsbibliotek—about 270 items

Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm—22 items

Universitetsbiblioteket i Lund—17 items

Stifts- och landsbiblioteket, Linköping—5 items

Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Västerås—3 items

Roggebiblioteket, Strängnäs—1 item

Special Catalogues

Kjellberg, Lennart, *Catalogue des imprimés slaves des XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Uppsala*. Uppsala, 1951. Lists 256 items in glagolitic or cyrillic script 'more ancient than Peter the Great's *grazhdanskaia azbuka*'.

(Interleaved copy includes manuscript notes of 11 items acquired later and holdings of the Royal Library, Stockholm, Lund University Library, the Stifts- och Landsbibliothek, Linköping, the Stifts- och Landsbibliotek, Västerås, and the Roggebiblioteket, Strängnäs.)

Gawrys, Eugeniusz, *Katalog över slaviska handskrifter och tryck från 1500-, 1600-, 1700-talen i Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Västerås = Die slavischen Handschriften und Drucke des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Stifts- und Landesbibliothek in Västerås*. Västerås, 1960. (*Acta Bibliothecae Arosiensis*, 2. *Slavica Arosiensia*, 2.).

Articles

Davidson, Carin, 'Nicolaus Bergius' Slaviska Bok- och Handskriftssamling i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek' [Nicolaus Bergius's Collection of Slavonic Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Uppsala University Library], *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, Årgang 43 (1956), no. 1, pp. 126–136.

See also list of articles in Kjellberg.

SWITZERLAND

Collections

Öffentliche Bibliothek Basel: Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its 4 Tübingen imprints as nos. 87, 92, 100, 103.

Universitätsbibliothek Basel: has the Lieb Collection which is devoted to Eastern Europe and especially to Orthodox theology. It contains a Number of Church Slavonic books. It has a systematic catalogue (handwritten) and an alphabetical card catalogue. Copies of the latter are also in Zürich and at the Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its one Tübingen imprint as no. 83.

Stadtbibliothek Freiburg: Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its one Tübingen imprint as no. 100.

Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva: has a thematic catalogue of cyrillic books. (The heading *Religija* would need to be checked.)

Russian Orthodox Church library, Geneva

Orthodox Centre in Chambésy.

Stadtbibliothek Schaffhausen

Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its 2 Tübingen imprints as nos. 87, 100.

Stadtbibliothek Winterthur: Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its one Tübingen imprint as no. 103.

Zentralbibliothek Zürich: Badalić (see below under **Special Catalogues**) lists its one Tübingen imprint as no. 103.

Slavischer Seminar der Universität Zürich

These last two libraries have, between them, 100–120 works in Church Slavonic, findable through conventional and automated general catalogues.

Special Catalogues

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*, 2., verbesserte Auflag. Baden-Baden, Verlag der Librairie Heitz GBMH, 1966. Lists holdings of a number of Swiss libraries.

UNITED KINGDOM

Major Collections

The British Library: 80 items to 1700 (Church Slavonic and Russian), 546 items 1701–1800 (Church Slavonic and Russian). Church Slavonic to *ca* 1975—about 360 items

Cambridge University Library: 9 items to 1700 (Church Slavonic and Russian), 162 items 1701–1800 (Church Slavonic and Russian)

School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London: 5 items to 1700 (Church Slavonic and Russian), 110 items 1701–1800 (Church Slavonic and Russian)

Bodleian Library, Oxford: 49 items to 1700 (Church Slavonic and Russian), 50 items 1701–1800 (Church Slavonic and Russian)

Other collections (including both Church Slavonic and Russian)

All Souls College, Oxford

Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin

Birmingham University Library

Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle

Brasenose College, Oxford

British Museum (Natural History)

Brotherton Library, University of Leeds

Caius College, Cambridge

Chetham's Library, Manchester

Christ Church, Oxford

Churchill College, Oxford

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Dean and Chapter Library, Durham

Edinburgh University Library

Emmanuel College, Cambridge

Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library, London

Girton College, Cambridge
Glasgow University Library
John Rylands Library, University of Manchester
King's College, Cambridge
Lambeth Palace Library, London
Lincoln Cathedral
Lincoln College, Oxford
London Library
London University Library
Magdalene College, Cambridge
Middle Temple Library, London
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
Nottingham University Library
Oriel College, Oxford
Pembroke College, Cambridge
Royal Geographical Society, London
Royal Society, London
St Andrews University Library
St Catharine's College, Cambridge
St John's College, Cambridge
St John's College, Oxford
School of Oriental and African Studies, London
Slavonic Dept, Taylor Institution Library, Oxford
Slavonic Library, Modern and Medieval Languages Libraries, Cambridge
Trinity College, Cambridge
Ushaw College
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Wadham College, Oxford
Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London
Windsor (Dean and Chapter Library)

Special Catalogues

'Cyrillic Union Catalogue of Early-printed Books (to 1700) in United Kingdom Libraries.' Compilers: R. M. Cleminson, C. G. Thomas and A. V. Voznesenskii (forthcoming, The British Library).

Preliminary listing (held on PC) lists 214 items.

Drage, C. L., *Russian and Church Slavonic Books 1701–1800 in United Kingdom Libraries: A List with Bibliographical References, Locations, Notes and Indices*. London, 1984.

Lists 869 items (includes both Russian and Church Slavonic)

Hill, Brad Sabin, *Old Church Slavonic (in the Old Slavonic Character) Entries from the British Library General Catalogue: Print-Out from the Automated BLC File (i.e. converted from the British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975)*. London, The British Library, 1992.

Screen, J. E. O. & C. L. Drage, 'Church Slavonic and Russian Books, 1552–1800, in the Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 57, no.3 (July 1979), pp. 321–347.

Tyrrell, E. P. & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Slavonic Books before 1700 in Cambridge Libraries', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, III, 5 (1963), pp. 382–400, [1] plate.

Tyrrell, E. P. & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Slavonic Books of the Eighteenth Century in Cambridge Libraries', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, IV, 3 (1966), pp. 225–245.

Articles

Barnicot, J. D. A. & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Some Unrecorded Early-Printed Slavonic Books in English Libraries', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. II (1951), pp. 98–118, [5] plates.

Christian, R. F., J. Sullivan & J. S. G. Simmons, 'Early-Printed Books at St Andrew's and their Background', *The Bibliothek: A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics*, vol. 5 (1970), pp. 215–231.

Cleminson, R., 'East Slavonic Primers to 1700', *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 1988, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1–27.

The Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library and Museum 1971–1981. London, 1981.

Nemirovskii, E. L., *Slavianskie staropechatnye knigi kirillovskogo shrifta v knigokhranilishchakh Velikobritanii*. Moscow: RGB, Sektor istorii knigi, bibliotechnogo dela i bibliografii, 1993. 28p. Includes 'Slavianskie knigi kirillovskogo shrifta v knigokhranilishchakh Velikobritanii i Irlandii: predvaritel'nyi spisok' and 'Literatura o slavianskikh staropechatnykh knigakh kirillovskogo shrifta v bibliotekakh Velikobritanii i Irlandii'.

Simmons, J. S. G., 'Early-Printed Cyrillic Psalters at Lambeth and Valetta', *Solanus*, no. 3 (1968), pp. 10, 11.

Simmons, J. S. G., 'Early-Printed Books in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin', *Irish Book*, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 37–42. (Translated as: 'O nekotorykh staropechatnykh kirillicheskh knigakh v Dubline', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, sb. 8 (1963), pp. 245–254.)

Simmons, J. S. G., 'New Finds of Old Cyrillic Books: An Interim Report', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 27 Sept. 1963, p. 770.

Thomas, Christine, 'Two East Slavonic Primers: Lvov, 1574 and Moscow, 1637', *The British Library Journal*, vol. X, No.1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 32–47. 5 illustrations.

UNITED STATES

Major collections

Harvard University Library

The New York Public Library

Library of Congress

Newberry Library (Chicago)

Indiana University Library

Also: Old Believer communities in Milville (New Jersey), Eire and Marianna (Pennsylvania) and Marion County (Oregon)

General Catalogues

Cyrillic Union Catalog

National Union Catalog

RLIN

OCLC

Special Catalogues (public collections)

Church Slavonic, Glagolitic, and Petrine Civil Script Printed Books in the New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalogue. Described by Irina Pozdeeva. Catalogued by Zora Kipel. (forthcoming, 1996?).

Mathiesen, Robert, 'Church Slavonic Books in the New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalogue', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 87 (4), 1986/87, pp. 404–417.

Special Catalogues (private collections)

The Paul M. Fekula Collection: A Catalogue. New York, Estate of Paul M. Fekula, 1988.

Struminsky, Bohdan, 'Old Ruthenian and Muscovite Books in the Library of the Very Reverend Basil Shereghy (McKeesport, Pennsylvania, USA)', *Polata knigopisnaja*, no. 5 (October 1981), pp. 5–7.

Articles

Isajevych, Ia. D., with the assistance of R. H. Davis, 'Two Rare Russian Printed Books in the Collections of the New York Public Library: the Moscow *Gospels* of 1606 and the *Chasovnik* of 1630', *Solanus* (New Series), vol. 4 (1990), pp. 76–86.

Jakobson, R. and W. A. Jackson, 'Ivan Fedorov's Primer', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 9 (Winter 1955), pp. 5–45.

Kasinec, Edward, 'Notes on Old Cyrillic Printed Books and Manuscripts in American Repositories', *Polata knigopisnaja*, March 1980, no. 3, pp. 12–19. (Also in much modified form as an introduction to *Church Slavonic, Glagolitic and Petrine Civil Script Printed Books in The New York Public Library* (cited above).

YUGOSLAVIA

Collections

Biblioteka Matica srpska, Novi Sad: 50 editions in 163 copies from the 15th–17th centuries. (Described in Grbić, see below, under **Special Catalogues**.)

Biblioteka Eparhije Slavenske, Belgrade: 3 items from the 15th–17th centuries, 64 from the 18th. (Described in *Biblioteka Eparhije . . .*, see below.)

Biblioteka Srpske Pravoslavne crkve, Belgrade

Biblioteka Rad. M. Grujića, Belgrade

Arhiv Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Belgrade: 35 editions in 58 copies from the 15th–17th centuries. (Described in Mano-Zisi (1985), see below.)

Muzej primenjenih umetnosti, Belgrade

Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Belgrade

Univerzitetska biblioteka "Svetozar Marković", Belgrade

Zavod za zaštitu i naučno-proučavanje spomenika kulture NR Srbije, Belgrade

Državni muzej, Cetinje

Some monasteries (listed in Badalić, see below) also have small collections.

Special Catalogues

Badalić, Josip, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum MDC. Bibliographie der südslawischen Frühdrucke*. 2., verbesserte Auflage. Baden-Baden, Verlag Librairie Heitz GMBH, 1966. Gives holdings of libraries in Belgrade, Cetinje and Novi Sad.

Biblioteka Eparhije Slavenske. Srpske rukopisne i štampane knjige u Slavoniji od XV do XVIII veka. Katalog. Belgrade, Pakrac, 1990.

Grbić, Dušica, Ksenija Minčić-Obradović & Katica Škorić, *Ćirilicom štampane knjige 15–17 veka Biblioteke Matice srpske*. Novi Sad, 1994.

Mano-Zisi, Katarina, 'Srpske inkunabule iz beogradskih zbirki', in *Arheografski prilozi* (Belgrade, 1970), knj. 1, pp. 189–209. Describes 4 editions in 21 copies. Gives locations.

Mano-Zisi, Katarina, 'Stare ćirilčke štampane knjige u Arhivu Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti', in *Arheografski prilozi* (Belgrade, 1985), knj. 6/7, pp. 291–335.

Nemirovski, E. L., *Izdanja Đurđa Crnojevića 1494–1496*, Crnogorska bibliografija, t. 1, knj. 1, Cetinje, 1989. Describes 4 editions in 154 copies. Gives locations.

Nemirovski, E. L., *Izdanja Božidara i Vićenca Vukovića, Stefana Marinovića, Jakova od Kameme Reke, Jerolima Zagurovića, Jakova Krajova, Đovanina Antonia Rampaceta, Marka i Bartolomea Dinamija. 1519–1638*, Crnogorska bibliografija, t. 1, knj. 2, Cetinje, 1993. Describes 28 editions. Gives locations.

Katalog knjiga na jezicima jugoslovenskih naroda 1519–1867. Belgrade, Narodna Biblioteka Srbije, 1973.

Based on the collections of Biblioteka Matice srpska, Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Univerzitetska Biblioteka "Svetozar Marković" (Belgrade), Biblioteka Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (Belgrade), Biblioteka Srpske Pravoslavne crkve (Belgrade) and other libraries, but does not give locations.

Ранняя кириллическая книга. Историко-культурное значение поэкземплярного описания*

И.В. Поздеева

Двадцать пять лет прошло со времени выхода в свет первого каталога кириллических старопечатных книг, составленного А.Х. Горфункелем и содержащего подробную информацию о каждом из экземпляров фонда Отдела редких книг и рукописей (ОРКиР) Ленинградского (ныне Санкт-Петербургского) университета.¹ За эти годы вышло около трех десятков описаний в той или иной степени решавших эту же задачу. Двадцать из них² явились источниками данной работы, цель которой проанализировать историко-культурные возможности, объем и характер информации, сохраненной, фактически, каждым экземпляром древней книги, выявленной и ставшей доступной для всестороннего исследования благодаря научному описанию и публикации каталогов собраний различных библиотек.

Историческое бытование каждого экземпляра издания, выполнение им культурных и социальных функций, и приводит к появлению индивидуальных особенностей книги в сравнении с гипотетическим первоначальным состоянием всего или части тиража. Эти особенности можно систематизировать в четырех основных рубриках: сохранность, и относительно состояния по выходе тиража (утраты и дополнения) и физическая сохранность; характеристики переплета; записи, маргиналии, пометы; источник поступления. Глубина описания каждой рубрики диктуется

* В основе статьи лежит доклад на V Всемирном конгрессе CEES. Работа выполнена в рамках темы 'Редкая печатная книга в ВУЗах России' с финансовой поддержкой программы 'Университеты России'.

¹ Горфункель А.Х. Каталог книг кирилловской печати XVI—XVII вв. Ленинград, Ленинградский государственный университет, Научная библиотека им. М. Горького, 1970. (Далее — Горфункель 70, или К 1.)

² В таблице, обобщающей источники данной статьи (см. с. 165), и в списке использованных каталогов (см. с. 167—8), каталоги расположены по хронологии выхода в свет; при отсылке к ним даются фамилии составителя и дата выпуска, обязательная только при наличии нескольких каталогов одного автора. Например, Лукьяненко 85 № — или Осипова № —.

Нами учтены каталоги вышедшие в виде отдельных книг и наиболее полно отвечающие общей методике описания; учитывалось также и географическое положение коллекции, так как автор стремился проанализировать возможно более репрезентативный комплекс как по типологическому, так и по географическому происхождению.

Автор приносит глубокую благодарность всем своим коллегам, чьи труды использованы в этой работе и особенно тем, кто нашел возможным значительно облегчить использование выявленной исторической информации, приложив к каталогам аннотированные указатели.

необходимостью выявить всю информацию экземпляра но не исследовать ее. Выявление, в том числе и скрытой информации, требует описания *всех* особенностей экземпляра и возможно точной их датировки, так как, во-первых, книга представляет собой единство изданного текста и материального носителя этого текста — и их жизнь в веках взаимно обусловлена; во-вторых, особенности каждого экземпляра, его индивидуальная историческая информация возникают в результате уникального личностного взаимодействия человека и книги, которое порождает (и отражает!) массовые социально-культурные процессы своего времени; в-третьих, в рамках российской культуры кириллическая старопечатная книга дониконовского времени представляет собой совершенно особый феномен активного исторического бытования без изменения функции и форм использования на протяжении трех-четырех веков (начиная с конца XVII в. до настоящего времени, определяя воспроизводство традиционной культуры старообрядческих общин). Все это вместе взятое и требует определенной глубины и скрупулезности научного описания экземпляра старопечатной книги, в котором не только какие-либо дополнения, но даже отсутствие определенных разделов текста часто является информативным свидетельством. Только совместное изучение сохранившегося состава книги, ее утрат и дополнений, содержания и характера записей, истории переплета позволяет понять весь объем информации, повествующей и об индивидуальной судьбе экземпляра и о культуре нескольких веков, фактом и фактором которой он являлся в составе личной, церковной или монастырской библиотеки, книжности старообрядческой общины или региона. Указанная выше характерная черта исторической информации, носителем которой является экземпляр старопечатного издания — проявление в ее индивидуальности, а часто и в уникальности, обще-типологических явлений эпохи, требует для изучения и использования значительной степени типологизации и унификации информации. Это может быть достигнуто использованием общепринятых правил как методики и уровня описаний экземпляров старопечатных изданий так и характера их публикации. При этом, как мы увидим и как справедливо пишет ведущий специалист в этой области В.И. Лукьяненко, к каталогам которой мы ниже постоянно обращаемся: ‘большое значение приобретают приложенные к каталогу вспомогательные указатели’.³ Цель публикации указателей, прежде всего, ‘для повышения информативности’ сформулирована в изданиях ‘Вологодской программы’.⁴ К сожалению, хотя все использованные нами описания сопровождаются традиционными указателями, далеко не все они равнозначны и могут

³ Лукьяненко 93. Предисловие.

⁴ Амосов 83, с. 13.

адекватно снабдить исследователя необходимой информацией. Наиболее развитая и рассчитанная на специфичность исследования система приложений осуществлена в описаниях вышеупомянутой 'Вологодской программы', которые снабжены таблицей конкордации и восьмью указателями: авторов; названий печатных изданий; места и времени печати; географических названий и личных имен, упомянутых в записях; точно датированных записей; орнаментальных украшений переплетов; библиотек и книжных собраний, в которые входили ранее описанные в каталоге экземпляры. Эта система справочных указателей могла бы быть оптимальной для исследовательских целей, так как включает сведения имеющие отношения к изданию и к ряду особенностей экземпляра (например, переплета). Чрезвычайно важно, что в приложениях разделены сведения об именах и месте печати, имеющие отношение к изданию, и о людях и местах бытования книг, характеризующих исторические судьбы экземпляров. Однако, чтобы сведения систематизированные в указателях были действительно адекватны сведениям самих описаний, необходимо, чтобы важнейшие указатели были аннотированы, сохраняя и хронологическую и социальную информацию записей применительно к важнейшим ее сторонам — географии бытования и персональной принадлежности книги.

К сожалению, в указателях 'Вологодской программы' (так же как и большинства других каталогов, кроме изданий Российской Национальной библиотеки (РНБ) и Московского Государственного университета (МГУ)) сохранены только социальные характеристики персоналий, имеющиеся в записях, и характер их отношения к книге, но не дано хронологических уточнений, что фактически, учитывая выше-сформулированную особенность феномена традиционной книжности, не позволяет использовать и сохраненную информацию. Ведь между купцом и крестьянином-владельцем или вкладчиком книги, жившим в XVII, XVIII и XIX вв. — принципиальные историко-культурные различия.

Необходимо отметить также, что в книгах 'Вологодской программы' даже наличие конкордацией не восполняет отсутствие точных указаний на издания, описанные в каталоге, так как в указателе места и времени печати, издания, вышедшие под одним годом не имеют ни названия ни точной даты. Не спасает положение и указатель названий, так как в каталоги, как правило, входит описание кириллицы четырех столетий (например, № 9 и 10 — 1564—1825 г.; № 17 — 1564—1700 и т.д.). К сожалению, все эти особенности указателей изданий 'Вологодской программы' полностью воспроизведены и в прекрасной книге И.М. Гринцевской.⁵ Каталоги изданий РНБ, хотя и сопровождаются только пятью или шестью указателями, так как для этих книг главным является полное описание

⁵ Гринцевская 93.

издания, а описание экземпляров — только вторичным, тем не менее включают и хронологическую и социально-книговедческую информацию записей. Однако, в этих изданиях и именной и географический указатели содержат информацию и об издании и об экземпляре, причем ссылка всегда делается к описанию издания, хотя оно может сопровождаться 5—13 описаниями экземпляров. Особым, из использованных ниже изданий, является книга Л.И. Киселевой 'Корпус записей на старопечатных книгах. Выпуск 1. Записи на книгах кириллического шрифта, напечатанных в Москве в XVI—XVII вв.', изданная в Санкт-Петербурге в 1992 г. В этой книге публикуются не описания изданий или имеющихся экземпляров старопечатных книг, а только записи обнаруженные на 900 экземплярах московских старопечатных изданий (из 1200 имеющихся в фонде БАН), что и определило, очевидно, характер указателей. Их пять: именной, указатель точно датированных записей, географический, книг с рукописными листами и экземпляров с записями, в которых названы цены на книги.

Громадную историческую ценность мог бы иметь именной указатель этого издания, содержащий около 2700 имен, отдельно учтенных владельцев (индивидуальных и корпоративных) покупателей, продавцов, вкладчиков книг и лиц, просто упомянутых в записях. Однако, и в данном случае, значение столь важной и по своему объему уникальной информации, значительно снижается вследствие отсутствия хронологического комментария. Очевидно, что для исторического осмысления богатейших материалов старопечатного фонда московских изданий БАН совершенно необходим и отсутствующий в книге указатель изданий. Можно было бы продолжить эти характеристики, но для нашей цели, как представляется, вполне достаточно приведенных примеров, чтобы доказать, не касаясь очевидной сегодня проблемы необходимости всестороннего описания каждого экземпляра старопечатной книги, и необходимость при публикации первоначальной обработки и систематизации обще-исторический и культурно-книговедческой информации, полученной в ходе научного описания.

Первый вопрос, который должен быть поставлен при комплексном анализе информации названных выше каталогов, — вопрос об объеме и уровне первоначальной обработки описанного фонда. И первое и второе становится очевидным при изучении таблицы (см. с. 165), в которой предпринята попытка сделать ответы на эти вопросы наглядными. В 20 избранных нами каталогах вышедших в 1970—1995 гг. описано 26 экземпляров семи изданий XV в.; 747 экземпляров изданий XVI в. (максимальная цифра изданий этого времени в последнем каталоге РНБ — 156 — см. *Лукьяненко*, 93); и 4353 экземпляра изданий XVII в. (максимальная цифра изданий, притом только московских в вышеназванной книге БАН — 336 — см. *Киселева*, 92). Таким образом всего в избранных

источниках описаны 5326 экземпляров кириллических изданий XV—XVII вв. происходящих из библиотек монастырей, церквей, корпоративных учреждений, старообрядческих общин, личных собраний. Они хранятся в Москве, Санкт-Петербурге, Екатеринбурге, Саратове, Пскове, Вологде, Томске, Нижнем Новгороде. Представлены крупнейшие и знаменитые российские фонды: РНБ (бывш. им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина), БАН, МГУ и небольшие коллекции до выхода их описаний в свет совершенно неизвестные в науке.

Для XVI в. из всех изученных каталогов только последнее издание РНБ (см. *Лукьяненко*, 93) позволяет нам получить достаточно убедительные цифры, касающиеся частотности сохранения экземпляров разных изданий. В книге описано 156 изданий XVI в. в 404⁶ экземплярах, то есть, в среднем, одно издание представлено 2,63 экземпляра ('средняя' цифра по 18 каталогам — 1,98 экземпляра). Однако каталог РНБ (№ 19) позволяет детализировать эти цифры, и мы получаем достаточно интересную и, очевидно, для сохранности кириллицы XVI в. типичную картину (см. также график на с. 164):

2 издания представлены	13-ю экземплярами
2 издания представлены	9-ю экземплярами
1 издание представлено	8-ю экземплярами
1 издание представлено	7-ю экземплярами
7 изданий представлены	6-ю экземплярами
9 изданий представлены	5-ю экземплярами
14 издания представлены	4-мя экземплярами
24 издания представлены	3-мя экземплярами
34 издания представлены	2-мя экземплярами
62 издания представлены	1-м экземпляром

Объективность данных каталога РНБ о сохранности определенных изданий XVI в., когда речь идет о самых часто встречающихся, подтверждается всеми остальными каталогами. Первое и второе место в этом ряду занимают виленское Евангелие Петра Мстиславца 1575 г. и Острожская Библия Ивана Федоровна 1580/81 г.; третье и четвертое — львовский Апостол Ивана Федорова 1574 г. и Маргарит 1595 г. (по 9 экз.); пятое — московский Апостол 1564 г. (8 книг); шестое — виленская Псалтырь 1576 г. (7 книг); седьмое—двенадцатое (по 6 экз.): венецианский Служебник 1519 г., Минея 1533 г., Служебник 1554 г., московская постная Триодь 1589 г. и острожская Псалтырь с воследованием 1598 г.

Если учесть экземпляры 10 библиотек (каталоги 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 17,

⁶ Автор в предисловии говорит всего о 415 экземплярах. Поскольку в книге описан 21 экземпляр XV в., к XVI в. должно относиться 349, но многократные подсчеты показали, что их все-таки 404.

18, 19), то в их фондах описано так называемых ‘анонимных’ изданий — 6 в 39 экземплярах, изданий Андроника Невежина — 9 в 110 экземплярах (Постная триодь — 24 экз.; два тома Октоиха 1594 — 29 экз., Апостол 1597 — 18 экз. и т.д.) виленских изданий XVI в. — 45 в 119 экземплярах.

Количество сохранившихся экземпляров XVII в. так же позволяет делать всесторонние выводы о месте и роли большинства изданий в культуре своего времени. Однако, для XVII в. в настоящих условиях (отсутствие общей базы данных хотя бы для описания изданий) частотность сохранившихся экземпляров изданий можно установить в лучшем случае только в рамках описания одного хранилища. Например, для фонда МГУ, каким он являлся к 1972 г., одно издание XVII в., в среднем, было представлено 2,2 экземпляром (каталог № 5); в малых музеях Вологодского края (каталог № 9) — в 1,5 экземпляром; в фонде БАН (каталог № 16) — 2,6; в Нижегородской областной библиотеке (каталог № 18) — 1,8 экземпляром. (‘Средняя’ цифра по 15 каталогам — 1,82 экземпляра.) Имея столь существенные цифры, и создав базу данных, составленную хотя бы на основании уже описанного фонда, можно, видимо, убедительно решать вопрос о причинах судеб того или иного типа изданий или продукции разных издательств.

Несомненно как уже многократно было показано,⁷ наибольшую всестороннюю источниковедческую ценность имеет информация записей, сохранившихся на экземплярах старопечатных изданий. Только в четырех вышеуказанных каталогах (№ 5, 9, 15 и 17) описано 23 экземпляра Соборного уложения 1649 г., 16 экземпляров московской Грамматики 1648 г. Мелетия Смотрицкого, и 19 — Истории о Варлааме и Иоасафе, изданной в Москве в 1680 г.

Данные об общем количестве записей XVII в. есть только в каталоге МГУ 1980 г. — их 637 на 683 экземплярах (далее везде учитывается цифра 680) — в среднем, на 93,3% всех описанных книг. Зато мы можем просчитать количество точно датированных записей XVI—XVII вв. для фонда описанного в 9 каталогах (№ 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17 и 18): 897 записей на 3447 экземплярах, т.е. на 26%; таким образом на 5326 экземплярах книг,

⁷ См. Тихомиров М.Н. Записи XIV—XVII вв. на рукописях Чудова монастыря. // Археографический ежегодник за 1958 г. Москва, 1960, с. 11—36; Асафов К.М., Протасьева Т.Н., Тихомиров М.Н. Записи на книгах старой печати XVI—XVII вв. // Археографический ежегодник за 1961 год. Москва, 1962, с. 276—344; Бакланова Н.А. Значение владельческих записей на древнерусских книгах как источник для истории русской культуры. // Археографический ежегодник за 1962 год. Москва, 1963, с. 197—205; Гузнер И.А. Записи XV—XVII вв. на книгах и рукописях собрания ГПНТБ СО АН СССР // Научные библиотеки Сибири и Дальнего Востока. Новосибирск, 1973, с. 84—94; Поздеева И.В. Записи на старопечатных книгах кирилловского шрифта как исторический источник // Федоровские чтения 1976. Москва, 1978, с. 39—54; Зернова А.С. Надписи на книгах московской печати XVI—XVII вв. // Книга: Исследования и материалы. Москва, 1991, Сб. 62 и др.

описанных в 20 каталогах — точно датированных записей должно быть не менее 1384. Согласно фонду МГУ, процент книг с точно датированными записями XVI—XVII вв. составляет даже 28,7% общего количества экземпляров (см. таблицу на с. 165).

Эта цифра едва ли удивит специалиста, так как именно в XVII в. книги нередко подписывали многократно, а многие экземпляры часто переходили из рук в руки, причем даты покупки указывались в большинстве случаев. Например, в каталоге И.М. Грицевской описаны две книги, на страницах которых сохранилось по 11 и 12 записей. Так книга Иоанна Златоуста Беседы на 14 посланий ап. Павла, в киевском издании 1623 г. (№ 80), в 1650 г. была куплена в Путивль; в 1651 г. — продана в Москве (в Кремль) дьякону Елисею; в 1652 г. Елисей продает книгу дьякону той же церкви Константину, который нашел нужным сделать запись о покупке и от своего имени. В 1654 Константин отдает книгу ‘по грешной душе Константиновой в Большие тюрьмы, что у Варварских ворот’, завершив свою запись о вкладе развернутой ‘формулой проклятий’ на случай передачи книги в иное место. Однако уже в 1654 г. бывший хозяин сам взял книгу назад, заменив ее в тюрьмах полным Прологом. Следующая 7-ая запись объясняет этот поступок, — очевидно Беседы были Константином выгодно проданы, так как в 1657 г. книга перепродается в той же Москве Иваном Никифоровым. Как говорится в восьмой записи, поясняющей 7-ю, книга проданная в Овощном ряду принадлежала монастырю, и сделка была осуществлена по приказу ‘честных обители из Убогих дому’ ‘строителя Кирилы’, причем покупка стоила попу Ивану Васильеву 20 р. 27 алт. 2 деньги. Девятая запись является владельческой попа Ивана, а 10-ая — владельческой ‘головы стрелецка Ивана Офонасевича Сергиевского’ (обе записи сделаны в том же XVII в.). Наконец, последняя запись, скорописью рубежа веков, содержит распоряжение: ‘по духовной отдаю’ [книгу] в Нижний Новгород в Преображенский собор.

На экземпляре Святцев 1646 г. (*Грицевская* 93, № 183) 12 записей, сделанных между 1674 и 1726 гг. о событиях в семье Паниных, живущей в Москве. Наличие же на экземпляре 4—5 записей XVII в., так же как и последующих веков, отнюдь не редко, что позволяет детально проследить судьбы многих экземпляров одного издания.

Например, на 23 экземплярах Соборного Уложения, описанных в 5 каталогах,⁸ прочитано 55 записей, удостоверяющих, что эти книги в XVII в. находились в Москве, Арзамасе, Вологде и ее округе, в Уржуме, ярославских землях, Ферапонтовом и Кирилло-Белозерском монастырях и других местах. В XVII—XVIII вв. они принадлежали приказным избам, монастырям, стольнику, дворянину, купцам, архимандритам, старцу,

⁸ См. каталоги № 5, 6, 9, 16, 18 по таблице на с. 165.

жильцу, крестьянам, двум капитанам, поручику, вахмистру, солдатам. Приобретались эти книги в большинстве случаев путем покупки (в том числе, в Овощном ряду и на Печатном дворе в 1681 г. за 5 р.), по завещанию и по благословлению, как вклад. Несколько экземпляров Соборного Уложения в XVIII в. получили значительные и функциональные рукописные дополнения.⁹

Таким образом, при научном описании экземпляры старопечатных изданий рассказывают множество фактов конкретного бытования и роли печатной книги, позволяющих гораздо глубже проникать в святая святых духовной истории народа.

Географические указатели, приложенные к каталогам, к сожалению, чаще всего общие, т.е. учитывает географические данные и издания и записей на экземплярах, или не имеют указаний о датировке записи, в которой данное место (монастырь, церковь) упомянуты. Однако даже просто подсчет количества населенных мест, географических понятий или регионов, где бытовали книги, по нескольким каталогам — дает представление о громадном объеме соответствующей информации: географический указатель Каталога МГУ (683 экземпляра книг XV—XVII вв.) насчитывает 583 названия населенных пунктов, регионов или географических понятий, 65 монастырей и 258 церквей, где бытовали описанные в каталоге книги. В географическом указателе Каталога БАН (№ 15) — учтено 315 населенных пунктов и монастырей и 88 церквей; в каталоге Нижегородской областной библиотеки — 278 населенных пунктов, монастырей и 122 церкви; в каталоге РНБ (№ 18) — 256 названий и 67 церквей. Географические указатели 9 каталогов (см. таблицу на с. 165) содержат 1946 названий населенных мест, географических понятий и монастырей, обнаруженных в записях на 3719 книгах — т.е., в среднем, на 51,4% всех экземпляров. В 10 каталогах в записях упомянуты 766 церквей, т.е., в среднем, на 21,3% экземпляров. Судя по каталогу МГУ (№ 5), значительный процент этих записей возник именно в XVII в., что позволяет восстановить историю движения книг в границах России, а также за ее пределами.

Однако наиболее богат и интересен просопографический материал записей. Используем для подтверждения этого положения данные именных указателей восьми каталогов, составленных только по записям на экземплярах изданий XV—XVII вв. или имеющих хронологические указания (№ 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 16, 18 и 19). В них описано¹⁰ 3518 экземпляров книг, в записях на которых названо 5792 имени, т.е. фактически, 187 имен, на

⁹ См. Поздеева 81, № 171.

¹⁰ Напомним еще раз читателям, что в книге Л.И. Киселевой приведены записи на 900 экз. из 1200 книг БАН. Во всех наших подсчетах учитывается именно 1200 книг, т.к. в описание вошли только экземпляры с записями.

100 книгах. В трех случаях (№ 2, 5 и 19) известно количество имен людей XVI—XVII вв., имевших, как правило, прямое отношение к данной книге. На 1272 экземплярах этих библиотек имен людей XVI—XVII вв. оказалось около 1000, т.е. в среднем, 10 имен людей XVI—XVII вв. на 13 экземплярах. В книге Л.И. Киселевой в указателях учтено около 250 имен владельцев книг, 53 имени покупателя, 81 имя продавцов, 222 — вкладчика и приблизительно 2330 лиц только упомянуто.

В значительном количестве случаев в записях названо и социальное положение приобретающих или расстававшихся с книгой людей. Например, в каталоге МГУ из 348 лиц, имевших непосредственное отношение к книге в XVII в., известно социальное положение 232 человек; из описаний книг каталога коллекции М.И. Чуванова известно 172 имени владельцев, вкладчиков, покупателей. Автор нижегородского каталога И.М. Грицевская¹¹ указывает (к сожалению, так же как и Л.И. Киселева, без датировок), что изученные ею экземпляры принадлежали 122 церквям и 34 обителям; а из 613 имен вкладчиков, дарителей, владельцев (на 433 экземплярах): 17 были архиереями; 101 — священниками; 58 — представителями знати и дворян; 26 — принадлежали к торговому сословию; 23 человека были крестьянами; 15 — приказными; 8 — военными.

Первые записи на экземплярах изданий появлялись еще на Печатном дворе и, как правило, фиксировали персональную ответственность за данную книгу. Такое же значение имеют и пометы (типографские) работников типографии, сделанные в процессе печатания книги. Те люди, которые правили книгу после завершения собственно процесса печати, оставляли свои росписи, изредка указывая что они делали, но чаще ставили только подписи. Например, на Кормчей 1653 г., как правило, сохраняются записи людей, вкладывавших в экземпляры дополнительные и исправленные листы; 'Прохорко Копосов' (Поздеева 80, № 495; Осипова, № 96); и значительно реже — 'Справил и четверки вложил', 'смотрел наборщик Семен Стефанов', 'Смотрел Фома... Левка наборщик' (см. Осипова, № 184; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50q'a523, инв. 3092-25-73; там же 50h442, инв. 5372-19-77 и др. Здесь и далее для экземпляров книг Отдела редких книг и рукописей Научной библиотеки МГУ, описания которых вошли в еще неопубликованный Каталог, приводятся название места хранения в сокращенном виде, шифр издания, если оно не названо в тексте, и всегда — инвентарный номер, необходимый для идентификации). Эти краткие записи встречаются на экземплярах московских изданий достаточно часто, и в сопоставлении с данными архива типографии (РГАДА, ф. 1182) могут стать важным источником по истории книгопечатания.

Совершенно необозрима информация записей о вкладчиках и их

¹¹ Грицевская 93, с. 27.

семьях, с одной стороны; и о служителях церквей и монастырей, принимающих книгу, с другой. Объединение этой информации в указателях явилось бы самым существенным дополнением к родословным справочникам и к незаменимым, но устаревшим книгам С.Б. Веселовского¹² и П.М. Строева.¹³ Самый типичный пример: стольник Кондратий Афонасьевич Загряжской (Загряжский) в 1666 г. делает вклад в приход своего племянника Федора Никитича по отце и по своему брате Никите Афонасьевиче, который по родословным книгам числится еще в 1666—1669 гг. помещиком.

Чрезвычайно ценные сведения сообщают сотни записей о слое приказных людей, многие из которых дополняют пока незаменимый справочник С.Б. Веселовского. Декабрьскую mineю московской печати 1636 г. продал 'приказу Большого Дворца подъячеи Ивашко Щепкин' — вообще не вошедший в том С.Б. Веселовского; порукой себе он в своеручной записи указал дворового человека Осипа Тихонова (ОРКиР МГУ, инв. 5309-2-77). Запись на сентябрьской четверти Трефолгиона (Москва, 01.06.1637; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6268-4-88) позволяет говорить, что подъячий Приказа Большого дворца Онисим Коренев, учтенный у С.Б. Веселовского под 1700 и 1701 годами, был в этой должности уже в 1687 (!) году.

На второй половине Пролога (Москва, 06.12.1643; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3034-13-75), найденном в Верхокамье в 1973 г. прочитана вкладная своеручная запись в церковь Воскресения Христова 'за Чертольскими ворота зовомы Новое', 'Новые четверти подъячим' Андреем Федотовым, имени которого у Веселовского также нет.

Достаточно часто встречаются вкладные записи 'торговых людей', в том числе и самых известных, таких как Надея Святешников, Василий Шорин и многие другие (ОРКиР НБ МГУ 50q'a523, инв. 3033-17-75), имена которых, как правило, зафиксированы в Книгах продаж новой продукции Московского печатного двора.

Очевидно, что работы с установлением подлинного происхождения, генеалогии людей, упомянутых в записях, требует тщательности и прямых доказательств. Например, найдя имя Федора Максимовача Матюшкина на вкладной записи 1648 г. в монастырь Никиты Переславского (Осипова, № 75), очень хотелось считать, что он — сын Максима Григорьевича Матюшкина — вкладчика 1641 г., когда тот был дьяком Посольского приказа. Однако, судя по синодику Московского Воздвиженского монастыря (Веселовский, с. 825) в роду Максима Матюшкина Федора не было.

Особенно перспективно изучение этих данных в конкретно-

¹² Веселовский С.Б. Дьяки и подъячие XV—XVII вв. Москва, Наука, 1975.

¹³ Строев П.М. Списки иерархов и настоятелей монастырей Российской церкви. Санкт-Петербург, 1877.

исторических исследованиях применительно к судьбе изданий изучаемого времени, региона, типов книг или определенного тиража издания. Например, вышеназванные экземпляры 'анонимных' изданий судя по записям на них в XVI в. бытовали в Вологодском и Олонецком уездах и Боровицком монастыре; в 1569 г. Евангелие ок. 1560 г. боярин вологодского владыки Дмитрий Яковлевич Белев со своим братом старцем Макарием вложили в Корнильев монастырь.

В XVII в. эти книги были в г. Козельске Владимирского уезда, в Новгороде на Добрынинской улице, в Коневском и Песношском монастырях, в местечке Стайки Запорожского войска и в с. Суходол Кашинского уезда. В это время они принадлежали нескольким игуменам, пушкарю, купеческому сыну, священникам, крестьянину, запорожским казакам. Экземпляры виленских изданий XVI в. учтенные в каталогах в XVI—XVII вв., судя по записям, находились в Кириллово-Белозерском и Чудовом монастырях и на Соловках, в Жировицком монастыре, Верхтермянской пустыни, в Москве, Романове, Ковже, Устюге Великом, Твери, Вологде, Ярославле, Орле, на Нозоге, в с. Никольском и Илатове, деревне Копорьи Горы, в церкви Софии Новгорода Великого, в Пертоминском монастыре. Ими владели, их вкладывали или покупали, передавали по духовной грамоте: игумены Сийского и Толгского монастырей, стольник Д.С. Малово, Н.Г. Строганов, священник Аввакум, старец Иосиф, земский дьяк Иван Висильев сын Матвеев, церковный служба Данилка Нилов сын. На экземпляре виленского евангелия 1575 г. (*Поздеева* 80, № 22) замечательная запись около 1650 г., в которой говорится, что книгу, которую Семен Саюсар продал Петру Волосовичу, 'казаки идучи з воиска... пропили в месте Монастырищах в дому игнатовом', и далее подробно рассказывается, как владелец доказывал свои права на книгу. Запись 25.11.1614 г. на втором экземпляре этого издания (*Поздеева* 80, № 23) удостоверяет, что Евангелие принадлежало церкви Лазарева воскресения в Твери. В 1726 г., когда церкви уже не было, книгу продали в Костромской уезд, но в 1779 г. она снова находилась в Твери и принадлежала тверскому купеческому сыну.

В XIX в. экземпляры этих книг принадлежали Обществу Истории и Древностей Российских (ОИДР) и П.М. Строеву, И.П. Сахарову и Ф.В. Булгарину; один из них И.П. Каратаев купил за 25 р. серебром...

Сведения полученные только из описаний изданий типографии Мамоnichей позволили бы написать специальное исследование, показывающее, что эти книги были рассчитаны на российский рынок; и их первоначальный путь, в основном, шел через северные земли, а также особую популярность не только в старообрядческой в собирательской среде.

Не менее авторитетны были, и в старообрядческой среде остаются, издания Андроника Невежи. Сведения об их географическом бытова-

нии, социальной принадлежности чрезвычайно подробны и также требуют специального исследования. Только четыре из используемых нами каталогов позволяют проследить несколько типичных судеб этих книг: в мае 1594 г. один из них ‘... московской... [Ники]цкие улицы Иванец Амбросимов сын дал на Мос[кве]... вяцкие земли Хлынова города... в монастырь Успения... по братне душе... убиенного... Агафонника’ (Лебедева, № 16); в 1596 г. ‘Панкратий и Прокофей Микифоровы дети Зеркальниковы’ положили книгу в церковь Рождества Иоанна Предтечи и Николы чудотворца (Лукьяненко 93, № 111/1) сообщив при этом имена царя, царицы и патриарха. В XVII в. этот экземпляр принадлежал ‘архиепископу Арсению Гречанину’, который также вложил ее в храм, в XIX в. — И.П. Каратаеву. Экземпляр особенно часто встречающейся у старообрядцев Триоди постной 1589 г. на рубеже XVI и XVII вв. был вложен в храм Благовещения Соли Вычегодской, затем в XVII в. книга бытовала на Сизме (Лукьяненко 93, № 99/6). В 1601 г. Триодь цветную 1591 г. положили в церковь ‘во Старопосад... Петр Васильев... Хмелев да Еунтропей Алексеев сын, таможенный истобник (!)...., а родом балохонец...’ (Лебедева, 14); Апостол 1597 г. в 1604 г. был куплен коллективно за 2 р. и 2 гривны Марьей Истоминой, Анной Григорьевной и Шестым Левонтом и вложен ‘Георгию страстотерпцу’. Подписал книгу ‘Уродко Андреев Попов’. В XIX в. эти экземпляры принадлежали А.И. Кастерину и Ф.А. Толстому (Лукьяненко 93, № 133/4). Экземпляр этого же издания в 1606 г. положил на престол пророку Илье и Федору Стратилату ‘Микита Михайлов сын Корсаков’ (Поздеева 80, № 59). В 1614 г. Минея общая 1600 г. (1-е изд.) ‘положена в храм Воскресения на Рословское’ (Лебедева 92, № 21); в 1619 г. старец ‘Варлам Олексеев Обирков дал в Голутвин монастырь за право там быть’ невежинский Октоих 1594 г.; владельческую запись на Триоди цветной написал по приказу митрополита ключарь ‘Софеи Премудрости Божии’ Иосиф Федоров, а в 1632 г. книга была по приказу митрополита Киприана ‘починивана’ (Лукьяненко 93, № 101/3). Записи позволяют проследить судьбу основных ‘невежинских’ изданий в веках, их переход в последней трети XVII—начале XVIII в. в руки староверов, а в XIX — концентрацию в собраниях библиофилов.

Еще более показательным и репрезентативным при аккумуляции материалов нескольких собраний становится исследование реального функционирования изданий XVII в., прежде всего московского Печатного двора, тиражи и первоначальную цену продукции которого мы знаем.¹⁴ Такие исследования чрезвычайно важны. Например, давно признано важным

¹⁴ Поздеева И. В. Новые материалы для описания изданий Московского Печатного двора первой половины XVII в. // В помощь составителям Сводного каталога старопечатных изданий кирилловского и глаголического шрифтов: Методические рекомендации. Москва, Государственная библиотека им. В.И. Ленина, Отдел редких книг, 1986.

фактом политической и социальной истории издание полного кодекса права — Соборного Уложения 1649 г. и Кормчей книги 1650—53 гг. Поэтому столь интересно проследить реальное функционирование этих изданий.

Не менее важно знать реальную роль, географическое распространение и социальную принадлежность учебных книг. Для типов книг употреблявшихся для первоначального обучения, работа в определенной степени, проделана.¹⁵ Однако было бы важно достаточно детально проанализировать судьбу первого московского (2.02.1648 г.) издания Грамматики Мелетия Смотрицкого, которое издатели сопроводили гимном грамматическому знанию, необходимому всем людям без различия чинов и званий, всякого возраста и положения. В пяти каталогах (из 20 анализируемых) учтено 17 экземпляров Грамматики. Один из них (*Поздеева* 80, № 413) в ноябре 1648 г. уже был в Архангельске у спасского попа Ивана Романова, успевшего переплести книгу купленную в тетрадах. В 1650 г. книгу продал княгине Пелагее Григорьевне ‘крестьянский поп’ Иван (*Киселева* 92, № 348); несколько позднее, в том же XVII в. ‘сытник Нижегородского уезду’ продает ее крестьянину Федору Муромцеву. Одна из книг (*Киселева* 92, № 346) находилась в XVII в. в руках дьякона Ивана Иванова и стоила 1 р. 75 к. В XVII же веке экземпляры Грамматики указанных выше библиотек находились также: в Кириллове монастыре, как в казне, так и в келиях (*Амосов* 83, № 44 и 45 — два экземпляра); у монаха Виленского братства (*Киселева* 92, № 349) и в 1697 г. покупатель написал на экземпляре, что книга куплена в Москве, ‘а дано за нее много денег, а владети мне и учиться симу (!)... подай мне человеche разуму’ (*Киселева* 92, № 350). На рубеже XVII и XVIII вв. на нижегородском экземпляре издания кто-то написал список важнейших наук, вратами которых является Грамматика: ‘Грамматика, диалектика, риторика, арифметика, философия, логика, землемерие’ (*Грицевская* 93, № 197). В XVIII—XIX вв. экземпляры книги были в руках В.И. Татищева, в Библиотеке Академии наук, Придворной и эрмитажной библиотеках, у тульского купца, какой-то москвитин продал Грамматику 1648 г. на Макарьевской ярмарке, и так далее.

Важность географической информации — т.е. информации о реальном бытовании книги — отнюдь не объясняется только ее обилием. Ни один указатель не может всесторонне учесть историко-географические сведения записей, которые нередко достаточно детальны и содержат различную информацию. Напомним в данном контексте только проблему точного местоположения церквей. Например, поп Петр во второй половине

¹⁵ Поздеева И. В. Историческое бытование изданий Московского Печатного двора первой половины XVII века // *Solanus, New Series*, vol. 5 (1991), pp. 5–24.

XVII в. так определил во владельческой записи на ноябрьской минее (Москва, 08.09.1645; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 2278-11-79) место своей церкви: '...Николы чудотворца Зарядного Муром города посаду, что стоит за хлебным рядом'. Не менее подробно говорится в записи конца XVII в.: '...Пскова церкви святых чюдотворцов Козьмы и Домьяна Гремячего монастыря, что за Псковою рекою во угле града Пскова...' (Осипова, № 197).

Церковь Бориса и Глеба, в которую в 1636 г. вложена московская Триодь постная 1635 г., находится '...в Олексинском уезде в Болохновском стану... на речке на Малой Синиче...' (Осипова, № 38); а Апостол 1684 г. (Осипова, № 205) вложен 'В Шелонскую пятину в околородье Порховское ко Всемилоствому Спасу на Гористую'.

Информация записей о социальной принадлежности владельцев печатной книги, например, в XVII в., не только достаточно велика, чтобы доказать ведущее значение печатной книги в культурной и религиозной жизни всего русского общества, но и достаточно детализирована, чтобы проследить социальную окраску читательских возможностей и интересов, судьбы различных типов книг и различных изданий в их реальном конкретно-историческом бытовании. Особое значение информации о социально-исторической и географической принадлежности печатной книги объясняется также наличием комплекса первоначальных сведений этого типа для всего или значительной части тиража большинства изданий московского Печатного двора. Речь идет о записях в 'Книгах продаж' собственной книготорговой лавки типографии, фиксировавших имена, социальное положение и место жительства покупателей вышедшей на Печатном Дворе новой печатной продукции.¹⁶ В приходных книгах Приказа книг печатного дела зафиксированы многие десятки тысяч фактов продажи всех типов московских печатных книг представителям монастырей и церквей или знатных лиц, покупавших нередко несколько десятков экземпляров издания, членам церковного клира, торговым людям, представителям всех социальных слоев посада и крестьянам. При изучении большинства изданий, вышедших, начиная с 30-х гг. XVII в., мы располагаем сведениями о первоначальной судьбе в среднем 60—70% всех отпечатанных экземпляров.

Таким образом, информация записей на сохранившихся экземплярах может и должна быть соотнесена с вполне репрезентативными сведениями о первоначальных покупках, что позволяет, используя современные методы компьютерного анализа, показать внутреннюю структуру и динамику выполнения ранним московским книгопечатанием его исто-

¹⁶ Интересующие нас сведения есть и в других типах книг фонда 1182, однако это вопрос иного исследования. См. РГАДА ф. 1182, оп. 1.

рической культурной и просветительной роли.

Изучение второй — географической координаты книжной культуры позволяет нам впервые выявить наиболее читающие регионы страны, центры складывания ее интеллектуальной элиты и школьного образования.

Социальная принадлежность книг и их распространение не могут быть поняты без знания реальной стоимости книги и ее динамики. Как уже говорилось, цена указывалась в записях достаточно часто. Как видно из специального указателя в книге Л.А. Киселевой, приблизительно на 8% всех экземпляров московских изданий описанной ею коллекции БАН имеется информация об их ценах. На 683 экземплярах изданий XVI—XVII вв. МГУ обнаружено 50 указаний о цене, т.е. таковые имеются на 7,3%, вошедших в каталог экземпляров.

Поскольку сегодня нам в большинстве случаев, по крайней мере, для 20—40-х годов XVII в. известны и себестоимость издания, и его точный тираж, и первоначальная 'указная' цена, стало вполне возможны убедительная постановка и решение многих новых аспектов проблемы роли московской старопечатной книги как факта и фактора культуры своего времени.

Изучение информации записей, содержащих как правило, географические и социальные характеристики, дает широкие возможности восстановления состава древних библиотек всех видов. Например, в Каталоге МГУ описаны пять книг XVII в., которые в 1746 г. принадлежали нижегородскому Благовещенскому монастырю (*Поздеева* 80, № 129, 146, 152, 173, 185) и три книги — в XVII в. находившиеся в библиотеке монастыря Саввы Сторожевского. Среди последних Октоих 1640 г., вложенный туда царем Алексеем Михайловичем в 1652 г., Апостол 1653 г., сначала принадлежавший архимандриту, затем старцу Илиархху, а после него — известному Боголепу Курбатову (*Поздеева* 80, № 430, 491).

И если по истории церковных и монастырских книжных собраний мы имеем и иные источники (прежде всего, вкладные книги и описи имущества монастырей), то сведения записей о личных библиотеках представителей разных слоев русского общества уникальны. Тем более, что из архива Приказа книг печатного дела нам известны имена постоянных покупателей новой печатной продукции из всех слоев общества. В 30—50-х гг. XVII в. издания московского печатного двора покупали многие представители известных родов, но чаще всего, князья Романовы, Черкасские, Пожарские, Пушкины, Ромодановские, Барятинские, Ушаковы, Львовы, Морозовы и другие. Они приобретали фактически все выходявшие книги, широко вкладывая их в церкви своих вотчин и знаменитые храмы, во многом способствуя созданию крупнейших монастырских библиотек и быстрому движению книги по территории страны. Однако

то, что книги покупались ими и для собственной библиотеки — ‘про свой обиход’, доказывают только экземпляры с записями, этот факт подтверждающими.

Сопоставление указателей к каталогам кириллицы позволили бы восстановить состав хотя бы частично, как личных библиотек, так и библиотеки корпоративные. Например, в приложенном к каталогу ‘Вологодской программы’ 1983 г. Указателе библиотек и книжных собраний учтены библиотеки 9 монастырей, 33 церквей, двух учебных заведений, архиерейской кафедры и 34 личные.

Из записей на многих книгах мы узнаем о переписи церковных библиотек в епархии, предпринятой в 1682—1683 г. по указу митрополита Рязанского и Муромского Павла.¹⁷ Участвовал в этой переписи и подъячий Казенного приказа Иван Григорьев, который в 1677/78 г. был одним из переписчиков Каргополя¹⁸ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50q’a523, инв. 729-27-81; 50h622, инв. 10737-5-70). Во время этой переписи фиксировались и личные книги, по разным причинам обнаруженные в храмах, например, на московской Триоди постной 1650 г. запись сделанная в связи с переписью, заканчивается словами: ‘...староста поповской... подлина осмотра велел подписал... попу Ивану. Поп Иван сказал: сия де книга куплена на ево деньги’ (ОРКиНБ МГУ, инв. 3033-23-75; см. также: Поздеева 80, № 259; 86, № 20; Спирина 81, № 54 и др.).¹⁹

Естественно, прежде всего, внимание привлекло постоянное упоминание в книгах продаж родственников первого царя из рода Романовых и предков А.С. Пушкина. В 1983 г. нами была обнаружена первая запись Гаврилы Григорьевича Пушкина, а сегодня только в изучаемых каталогах описано более 10 книг, купленных или вложенных в храмы Гаврилой Пушкиным и его сыном окольным Степаном Гавриловичем. О Гавриле Григорьевиче А.С. Пушкин писал в ‘Моей родословной’:

Водились Пушкины с царями;
Из них был славен не один,
Когда тягался с поляками
Нижегородский мещанин.
Смирив крамолу и коварство,
И ярость бранных непогод,
Когда Романовых на царство
Звал в грамоте своей народ.
Мы к оной руку приложили,
Нас жаловал страдальца сын,

¹⁷ Павел Моравский переведен в 1681 г. из Суздаля (*Строев* (примечание 13), стлб. 416).

¹⁸ *Веселовский С.Б.* (примечание 12), с. 134.

¹⁹ Из текста этой записи 1683 г. ясно, что в задачу переписи входило и выяснение источника поступления книги.

Бывало — нами дорожили...

И в письме от 30 января 1829 г. к Н.Н. Раевскому о Гавриле Пушкине А.С. Пушкин писал: '...Он был очень талантлив — как воин, как придворный и в особенности как заговорщик. Это он... своей неслыханной дерзостью обеспечил успех самозванца. Затем я снова нашел его в Москве в числе семи начальников, защищавших ее в 1612 г., заседающим в Думе рядом с Козьмой Мининым...'

Сегодня исследователь, обратившись к именным указателям каталогов, может найти сведения о покупке, вкладе или продаже книг сотен исторических деятелей XVII в. или членов их семей, жителей вотчин или крепостных. Упомянем одного из наиболее образованных и интересных людей своего времени — Ф.М. Ртищева, подписывавшего книги из личной библиотеки по-гречески. Его запись мы находим на московском Толковом евангелии 1649 г. (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 5312-19-77): 'Εκς Βιβλιοθηκης τυ Θεοδωρου Μηχαηλειδεος Ιρτησζεβιν τυ κυβικυλαριу κуетεωννο τυ Βασιλικυ'. Греческую запись, сделанную его же рукой мы находим и на экземпляре Лествицы (Москва: Печатный двор, 01.03.1647).²⁰ В переводе на русский язык она гласит: 'Из библиотеки Федора Михайловича Ртищева царского кувикулярия и постельничего'. Позднее книга была вложена Федором Михайловичем в Ново-Андреевский монастырь по его отце М.А. Ртищеве — воеводе и царедворце.

Тексты записей кроме социально-культурных аспектов, как правило, наиболее четко сформулированных и 'бросающихся' в глаза, нередко позволяют получить уникальные сведения, 'скрытую' информацию, казалось бы 'неуловимую' для столь краткого, часто формализованного и во многом даже 'формулярного' источника. Так например, всего два слова 'единогласно петь', добавленные к обычному тексту вкладной записи на московской Октябрьской минее 1609 г.²¹ царским духовником Стефаном Вонифатьевым, сразу вводят нас в обстановку полемики об одном из спорных вопросов церковных реформ патриарха Никона, потребовавшего 'единогласного' пения²² во время церковного богослужения, с чем Аввакум и его сторонники согласны не были. В записи протопоп Стефан подчеркивает: '...по сей книге великого Бога молить, *церковное пение по уставу петь, единогласно петь...*' (курсив—И.П.) и тем сразу, для своего времени совершенно очевидно, утверждает, что является сторонником

²⁰ Книга была получена во время археографической экспедиции 1979 г. в Верхокамье. ОРКиР МГУ, 50h513, инв. 2746-11-80. Ф.М. Ртищев постоянно фигурирует в списках покупателей изданий Московского Печатного двора.

²¹ ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 2Fa290, инв. 2396-2-85.

²² По древней традиции в русских церквях могли петь 'многогласно', т.е. одновременно читать и петь два, а то и три текста, что делало смысл богослужения совершенно непонятным на слух.

патриарха и его реформ.

Значительную 'скрытую' информацию, касающуюся истинных целей или надежд вкладчика, можно с достаточной степенью убедительности прочесть, исходя из даты или места вклада. Например, 11 июля 1652 г. Никон, который отказался от полученного путем избрания (по воле царя) сана патриарха, и принял его только после того, как 22 июля царь и народ умоляли его об этом у гроба Филиппа, уже дарит в 'свой монастырь... что в Торжку' (принадлежащий Иверской новгородской обители) Минею майскую (вышла 20.04.1646 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 10735-19-70), подписывая ее своим полным новым титулованием — замечательное подтверждение истинных, чисто политических целей 'отречения'.

Достаточно часто факт вклада приурочивался к какому-то важному (или опасному) в жизни человека событию, например, дальнему ответственному путешествию или возвращению из такового. Именно с этой целью, возможно и был сделан вклад Иваном Ивановичем Ключаревым на экземпляре московского устава 1641 г. 12 января 1641 г. подъячий Иван Ключарев был пожалован в дьяки и назначен в посольство, отправляющееся во главе с кн. Ефимом Мышецким в Грузию.²³ Книга вложена в церковь на Кулишках к Казанской Божьей Матери и Николе чудотворцу и великомученице Екатерине (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3033-45-75).

Из записей можно получить сведения о многочисленных небольших монастырях и пустынях. Например, судя по записям, московское учительное евангелие 1633 г. с первых до последних дней существования пустыни 'что во Мхах' (Арсениева пустынь Вологодской епархии) принадлежало ее библиотеке, было передано первому ее игумену Арсению для поминовения 'благочестивых царевичей князя Ивана Михайловича да Василия Михайловича'. Вкладную запись об этом написал на книге 'царского величества... дьяк Гаврила Парфеньев' (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 5907-5-82). Когда, в 1764 г. пустынь была упразднена, на экземпляре появилась запись, что книга происходит из Арсеньевой пустыни. Иногда одна книга сообщает значительную информацию этого типа. Например, из записей на экземпляре Лествицы (Москва, 1647) Псковского музея-заповедника (Осипова, № 76) мы узнаем имена игумена Великопустынского монастыря Илариона (1711 г.) и игумена обители прп. Ефросина-Сампсона (1722 г.), которых нет в справочнике Строева; а также, что игумен Никандровы пустыни Симеон был на этом посту уже в 1711 г. Нет в справочнике Строева и имени строителя Астраханского Троицкого монастыря Паисия Воротникова (см. ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50q'a631, инв. 3033-11-75), а игумен Спасского домового патриаршего Костромского монастыря Авраамий,

²³ Веселовский С.Б. (примечание 12), с. 242. Соловьев С.М. История России с древнейших времен. Москва, 1961. Т. 9, с. 229.

который продает свою келейную книгу в 1675 г., числится в справочнике только под 1670 г. (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50h442, инв. 1908-15-83). Совершенно очевидно, что именно записи на книгах содержат уникальные и многочисленные сведения об истории монастырей и церквей. Например, книги, описанные в Каталоге МГУ 1980 г., судя по записям, находились в церквях 137 населенных мест от Архангельска до Янидора.

Вот, например, яркое свидетельство о возникновении Хергозерской пустыни: 'Сия книга апостол преподобного отца Макария Уньжеского и Жельтовотьского пустыни Херьгозерские новой, Богом оустроенной чудотворьнаго образа Каргопольского уезду при старце Логвине да при старце Серьгие... техъ Богъ избрал молитвами преподобнаго отца Макария пустыню строить и братию призывати херьгозерскую'. Запись несомненно, сделана в период между выходом книги — 1 сентября 1638 г. и 1640 г., когда Сергей стал официально строителем Хергозерской пустыни. Затем книга перешла в Александро-Ошевенский монастырь той же Олонецкой епархии, а из него в 1812 г. была продана крестьянину монастырской Ошевенской слободы Александру Клешину.²⁴ Если записи во многом дополняют вышеуказанные справочники Веселовского и Строева, то и без этих книг невозможно оценить и даже понять информацию многих записей. Так, если датировки записей в вышеназванном экземпляре Бесед Иоанна Златоуста (см. стр. 4—5 статьи и *Грицевская*, № 80) верны, то речь идет о Покровском монастыре, созданном в Москве на средства царя Алексея Михайловича его духовником Стефаном Вонифатьевым, архимандритом которого немного позднее был известный церковный 'антиниконовский' писатель Спиридон Потемкин, а Кирилл был строителем монастыря уже в 1657 г. (У Строева — стлб. 209 — он числит с марта 1662 г.)

Современное и во многом благотворное бурное развитие краеведения, несомненно, может и должно найти в записях на книгах незаменимый и уникальный источник. Особенно перспективно, с точки зрения краеведения, изучение экземпляров старопечатных изданий в составе территориальных книжных коллекций, собранных археографами в традиционно старообрядческих регионах. Записи на книгах позволяют проследить пути заселения и культурные связи районов, найти книги, которые бытовали в них в течение веков.²⁵ Содержат записи и сведения о людях, живших в этих местах или вложивших книги в местные монастыри и церкви, поминальные записи нередко перечисляют имена нескольких поколений одной

²⁴ Поздеева 81, № 85; Строев (примечание 13). Стлб. 1005.

²⁵ См. *Мальшев В.И.* Усть-Цилемские рукописные сборники XVI—XX вв. Сыктывкар, 1960; *Поздеева И.В.* Верещагинское территориальное книжное собрание и проблемы истории духовной культуры русского населения Верховьев Камы // *Русские письменные и устные традиции и духовная культура*. Москва, 1982, с. 40—71.

и той же крестьянской семьи. Например, только Каталог МГУ 1980 г. связывает происхождение 17 экземпляров изданий XVI—XVII вв. со знаменитым нижегородским Городцом и 27 — с г. Ржевом. В том числе, московская Постная триодь 1635 г. издания в 1660 г. была вложена в одно из нижегородских сел С.А. и Д.С. Малово и через 309 лет все еще бытовала на нижегородской земле (Поздеева 1980, № 242); Триодь цветная, напечатанная в Москве в 1648 г. после многократных переходов из рук в руки оказалась в первой половине XIX в. в Городце у Ф.М. Кузнецова, передавшего ее сыну Василию Староверову-Кузнецову, который в 1856 г. ‘благословил ею’ своего сына Василия Васильевича. Здесь же, в Городце, в руках староверов Триодь и продолжала служить до наших дней (Поздеева 1980, № 418).

Если объединить указатели даже вышедших каталогов, то, фактически, мы получим сведения о бытовании древней печатной книги на всей территории России, славянского мира и Афона. И уже сегодня в большинство краеведческих исследований можно было бы включать указания о бытовавших в изучаемых регионах экземплярах древних изданий, их цене и владельцах.

В руки старообрядцев переходили не только ранние (дониконовские) издания Печатного двора, но и многочисленные древние рукописи, на авторитет которых, кроме известных изданий, опирались в своей полемике старообрядческие писатели и конца XVII и XVIII веков. Например, Андрей Иоаннов с раздражением писал, что выговским авторам и руководителям поморского общежития ‘...по разнесшейся о них славе, отовсюду в короткое время натаскали... премножество старых российских книг... подписаны собственными руками... особ царской фамилии... князей’.²⁶ Очевидно, что свидетельства этого в старопечатной книге достаточно редки, и тем не менее, в записях конца XVII в. они есть. Например, поп Макарь Федоров сообщает в записи на первой части московского Октоиха 1638 г. издания: ‘церковния книги октаи четыре гласа выменил на писанныи...’ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 729-22-82).

Несомненно, представителей старообрядческого движения изначально интересовали записи на древних книгах, подтверждавшие с их точки зрения особую достоверность и ценность свидетельств. Очевидно поэтому так много среди сохранных старообрядческой традицией древних памятников книг с царскими и патриаршими вкладными записями. Типичным примером может быть экземпляр московской Триоди цветной (17.03.1648; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6338-6-76), который в 1650 г. дал

²⁶ Иоаннов А. Полное историческое известие о древних стригольниках и новых раскольниках, так называемых старообрядцах. Ч. II. Санкт-Петербург, 1855, с. 8. См. Поздеева И.В. Древнерусское наследие в истории традиционной книжной культуры старообрядчества: первый период // История СССР, 1988, № 1, с. 84—99.

в Никольскую церковь подмосковного дворцового с. Пушкино патриарх Иосиф, а в 1687 г. — уже из домово́й казны патриарха Иоакима книга передана в Троицкую церковь Можайского уезда. Не позднее XIX в. этот экземпляр издания оказывается в руках старообрядцев.

Достаточно редки в записях сведения об источниках средств на приобретение книги. Поэтому особый интерес представляют записи о коллективных покупках, когда книгу для храма приобретают ‘миром’ и указывают точные суммы взносов. К сожалению, эта роспись бывает не всегда. Например, на экземпляре московской Триоди постной 1607 г., полученной экспедицией МГУ в Саратовской области (МГУ, ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6202-19-78) говорится: ‘Въ прошломъ въ 121мъ году (1613) Первуша Мичюрин купял Козланские (!) волости всех (?) крестьян на их отписные мирские денги Треодъ постную а другую цветную да евангилье на престольное да церковной устав и положил в домъ царю Костентину а подписал Первуша своею рукою 123го году марта въ 14 день (1615)’.

Другой пример покупки ‘на мирские деньги’ — московский Апостол в издании 1648 г. (29.06; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6335-13-16), который был куплен крестьянами села Почеп, собравшими ‘по гривне с венца 1 рубль 13 алтын две деньги’.²⁷

Именно записи позволяют увидеть, что в последней четверти XVII в. широко идет процесс обмена дониконовских изданий на ‘новоисправленные’. Одним из этих многочисленных фактов является и факт, зафиксированный на экземпляре Майской служебной минеи (Москва, 20.04.1646; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 5906-6-82), которая в 1693 г. была ‘отдана на промен’ из Воскресенского Деревяницкого монастыря. Сборник из 71 слова (Москва, 09.1700), принадлежавший ‘Благовещенского собора... что у державнейшего государя на сенех... переменена на ветхую книгу соборник же’ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 973-1-59). Минею общую с праздничной в издании Московского печатного двора (29.06.1650, *Осипова*, № 88), которая в XVII в. принадлежала церкви Жен мироносиц, в 1701 г. поп этой церкви Иван Ерофеев ‘променил на новую минею’. В 1871 г. книга принадлежала крестьянину Григорию Лукину, а еще позднее снова поступает в библиотеку церкви псковского Предтеченского монастыря. Возможно, поступила она в монастырскую библиотеку тем же путем, что и экземпляр московского Шестоднева 1635 г. (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3092-4-73), о котором в записи на нем строго говорится: ‘...книга... ко отданию Вологодской епархии Духовную консисторию без всякого медления’.

Записи, фиксирующие факты продажи книги чаще всего имеют и обычные для этой формы сделки указания о ее поручителях и свидетелях.

²⁷ Очевидно, сбор по гривне с одного дома — достаточно типичен, так как мы уже знаем именно такой пример. См. *Поздеева* 80, № 261.

Например, ‘...по оном подписавшася поп Дементеи Иванов в прода-
жи сеи книги Ефрема Сирина порукою и свидетелем...’ (Ефрем Сирин.
Поучения, Москва, 29.08.1647; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 280-6-90).

Старопечатные московские книги в среде старообрядцев ценились и
ценятся очень высоко. Поэтому не только в XVII—XVIII в., но и позднее
они нередко являлись средством обеспечения долга — закладывались на
определенный срок, часто оставаясь в доме навсегда. Примером может
служить запись 1885 г. на экземпляре первого печатного московского
Устава (1610 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3092-11-73): ‘...сия книга уставъ
взята у Раминовскава Петра... (нрзб.) Казакова онъ мне заложиль на
время; ему дано 50ть серебрянъ. А книгу оставиль въ доме Алексан-
дра Дмитриева Шишкина; когда денги отдасть, то ему книгу возратить’.
Ниже тем же почерком: ‘Еще прибавлено после Казакову денегъ 40-к
серебрянъ; оставлена навсегда въ доме АДШ...’.

Информация вкладных записей, которые, как правило, имеют опре-
деленный формуляр, нередко бывает чрезвычайно развернутый даже в
рамках этого формуляра.

Например, из вкладной записи 1657 г. на второй части московского
Октоиха 1638 г. мы узнаем: где жили вкладчика — новгородские уличане
Михаил и Максим Никифоровы дети Клеткина и куда вложена книга — ‘в
Великий Новгород на торговую сторону в Славенской конец на Павлову
улицу в церковь каменную святому Воскресению... Исуса Христа’; когда
умер их отец и его первая жена; где они были похоронены; имена других
умерших членов семьи, начиная с деда по матери; имена служителей
церкви, принявших книгу; состав и стоимость вклада. Всего в своеручной
записи Максима Никифоровича 209 смысловых слов (ОРКиР НБ МГУ,
инв. 2746-8-80).

Нередко книга входила в состав комплексного вклада и тогда запись
имеет двойную ценность. Например, известные торговые люди братья
Исак и Никифор Ревякины вложили в 1617 г. в Петровскую церковь ‘на
Верх Усолки на сибирскую дорогу’ кроме Минеи общей с праздничной
(Москва, 20.10.1637; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3034-9-75), полотняные ризы,
выборчатую епитрахиль, подризник и поручи.

Только записи могут ответить на вопрос о движении таких многотом-
ных изданий как Минеи служебные на год или годичный Трефологион.
Именно судьбы этих книг подтверждают тот факт, что на Печатном
дворе годовой круг миней и трефологиона рассматривались как одно
издание, обеспечивающее уставную службу года, связанную с солнеч-
ным календарем. Поэтому мы имеем целый ряд примеров, когда несмо-
тря на прошедшие столетия, войны, пожары и революции, такие ком-
плексы или их части сохраняются, проделав вместе сложнейший исто-
рический путь. Например, 7 июля 1649 г. могилевские мещане братья

Леоновичи вложили, очевидно, круг миней²⁸ в Богоявленскую могилевскую церковь, в XIX в. книги попадают к старообрядцам Новозыбкова, меняют несколько раз хозяев, оставаясь в старообрядческой среде до 1972 г., когда две из них поступают в Ветковско-Стародубовское собрание Московского университета.

Можно перечислить целый ряд и иных тем, богатейшим источником изучения которых являются записи на старопечатных книгах. Ценность их давно признана, особенно записей исторического характера, часто непосредственно по следам событий эмоционально их описывающих. По ним нетрудно определить, какие исторические факты оставили в душах современников самое глубокое впечатление. Это моровые поветрия, московский бунт и убийство архиепископа Амвросия, движение Пугачева, смена царей и тому подобные общезначимые события.

Темы — записи на книгах, как источник по зарубежным духовным и культурным связям Руси — в данной работе мы не ставим, однако невозможно, характеризуя источниковедческие возможности информации, сохранившейся на старопечатных книгах, не упомянуть о ней совсем.

Достаточно сослаться на запись 1735 г. рыльского купца Якова Ивановича Мальцева о покупке им в Кенигсберге в доме 'Василия Корвина Квасовского Окадемии члена' московского Учительного евангелия 1639 г. за 25 гульденов (или за 5 рублей), так как '...в Кенизберхе была сия многоценная вещь... не в почтении...'. Факт, описанный в записи, разительно точно показывает нам принципиальные изменения, произошедшие в характере международных связей в Петровское время.²⁹ Эту же тему продолжает запись на Псалтири с воследованием московской печати (1636 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 1909-4-83): '[1]717го августа в 21 день потанул... Стефан Иосиф Беляев на море, от Амстердама тридцать верст на корабле именуется "Елисавет".'

Многие записи на старопечатных книгах связаны с внешней политикой России, чаще всего, с войнами: это книги, вложенные по 'убиенным' войнам или сопутствующие армии в ее походах, вклады в церкви присоединенных земель и т.д. С этой точки зрения любопытна запись на львовском евангелии 1670 г., как потому, что сделана уже в новое время, так и зафиксированным в ней фактором, относящимся к последней русско-шведской войне 1808—1809 гг.: '1808го году июня в 24 день... купил сию книгу святое Евангелие капитан Дмитрий Федотов сын Рышъков, будучи в неволе у шведов в Стехольне... а дано денег пятнатцать рублей...' (см. *Осипова*,

²⁸ Речь идет о минее на апрель (Москва, 15.10.1645, инв. 3092-25-73) и минее на май (Москва, 20.04.1646, инв. 3083-12-73), остальная часть круга также поступила в послевоенное время в Спасо-Преображенский старообрядческий собор г. Новозыбкова.

²⁹ Подробнее см. *Поздеева И.В.* 'Сей многоценный бисер' // Литература и искусство в системе культуры. Москва, 1988, с. 235—243.

№ 161).

Еще одной, гораздо менее исследованной темой, материал для изучения которой содержат записи, является рефлексия самой книжной культуры и связанный с ней менталитет различных слоев русского средневекового общества. Записи содержат информацию по вопросам происхождения (изготовления) печатной книги, об оценках и понимании ее содержания, особенностях использования, хранения, передачи, вклада и т.п. В записях сохраняются идеи, характерные для русской книжности с первых дней ее существования — это, прежде всего, идеи первостепенной важности чтения божественных книг и их величайшей ценности. ‘Добро и полезно есть человеком читати божественные книги, ибо во чтении оных со вниманием всякой может в разум истинной прийти...’ — говорится в записи, сделанной около 1783 г. на первой части Московского Пролога³⁰ (Москва: Печатный двор, 29.08.1641). На Прологе (первая половина, московское издание 1659 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3034-28-75) его владелец написал в разных местах книги: ‘Чти, Зри и чти. Чти, бо хорошо. Чти и разумей, зело полезно и души умилительно. Зело полезно. Чти непременно. Читай умилительно и полезно.’ На Прологе в московском издании 1675 г.³¹ каргополец Евфимий Киприянов сын Чуплов написал: ‘...держима бяше на пользу прочтушим человеком...’. А его внук Алексей ‘подписал сию книгу ради знатности’ — несомненно, ради ‘знатности книги’, так как о себе он говорит: ‘убогий Алексей своею брэнною рукою’. Он уточнил формулу деда, добавив мысль о пользе не просто читающим, ‘а... слышащим человеком’. На Минее общей с праздничной один из ее владельцев в XVIII в. написал: ‘Прости мя, Отче святой, што я грешный и недостойный дерзънух святыню сию писати бесстраха божиа, неусмотрением описываясь; простите, отцы и братия, мене невежу дурака немысленаго глупаго, неимущаго добраго не единого дела к Богу’ (Осипова, № 100).

Поучительные слова Ефрема Сирина (Москва: Печатный двор, 29.08.1667 г.)³² в XVIII в. вложены ‘для частого прочтения священном церковном служителям и их детям для познания’. Эту тему развивает также дарственная надпись 1656 г. на московском Каноннике 1641 г. издания,³³ в которой сообщается, что ‘...инок Иоасаф благословил сына своего духовнаго головщика Моисея новоторжца в вечное ему келейного правила в духовное наслаждение...’. Постоянно в записях повторяется требование аккуратно читать и хранить книги. Типичным примером явля-

³⁰ ОРКиР МГУ, 5М99, инв. 5906-4-82. (Находка археографической экспедиции.)

³¹ Киселева 92, № 646.

³² Там же, № 604.

³³ Там же, № 189.

ется вкладная XVII в. на московском Апостоле (30.09.1633),³⁴ который был отдан в церковь Покрова: ‘...говорить с великим бережением, листов не драть... смотреть и по ней говорить бережно, свещею не искапати и не измарати... Небрежением листы издерут или свещею искапают, или лучить учнут, отдавать ис церкви в иную церковь и без нашего повеления.’ В XVIII в. эта мысль была сформулирована в виде народной пословицы: ‘Не подобает книги церковные марать, за то надобно у таковых уши драть’.³⁵ Замечательны по содержанию приписки XVII в. на виленском издания 1627 г. Духовных бесед Макария Египетского. Первая из них — хорошо известная пословица: ‘Корень учения горек, плоды же его сладки’; вторая — очень редка: ‘Тяжко там працювати, где нечего узнати’ (Лукьяненко 75, с. 105). В том же XVII в. на московской Триоди цветной 1630 г. появляется запись: ‘Книги сей возжелай прилежно чести, да не будеши к суетам ум свой свести’ (Грицевская 93, № 81).

Часто в записях дается характеристика содержания книги. На первом месте по количеству восторженных записей главная книга православного домашнего чтения и обучения грамоте, ‘царь-книга’ — Псалтирь. Как правило, именно Псалтирь определяла уровень и содержание богословских, этических и богословско-политических воззрений, становилась непререкаемым учителем взаимоотношений с окружающим миром и Божеством. Старообрядец-реставратор московской Псалтири 1631 г. написал на починенной и дописанной им книге: ‘Я вам читать велю псалтыр, чтобы хорошо [было]; хто читает со всем усердием — к Богу приближается, и Бог к нему’ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6201-2-78).

Еще один пример записей на Псалтири (Бурцевское издание 1634 г.):³⁶ ‘Сия книга псалтырь Соли Вычегодцкой посадцкого человека Ивана Дмитриева сына’, и далее: ‘Лета 7155 году июня в... день сия книга глаголемое псалтырь душе полезное есть, ово Бога хвалит, со ангелы вкупе превозносит велиим гласом; за цари и за князи Бога молит, и за весь мир псалтырю и о самом себе Бога умолишь. Больше и выше есть всех книг сия, убо нарицается псалтырь. Сию книгу псалтырь купил на Двине мезенец Смоленской деревни Василей Меншиков, подписал своеручно...’. На московской Псалтири краткая, но выразительная памятная запись XVII в.: ‘По сей псалтири выучился Митрофан Яковлев...’.

Величайшее уважение и любовь к ‘Златым устам’ христианской литературы Иоанну Златоусту демонстрирует яркая и эмоциональная запись на экземпляре московского издания Маргарита (Москва: Печатный двор, 01.09.1641). Сделана она, очевидно, в XVIII в. в Великом Устюге кем-то из соборного клира: ‘Книга Маргарит трудолюбием Златоуста сочи-

³⁴ Амосов 83, с. 288, № 7.

³⁵ Лукьяненко 93, с. 150. Запись на 7-м экземпляре виленского Евангелия 1575 г.

³⁶ Горфункель 70, № 77.

ненный, чтущем и разумом в пользу верных предложением весь злат, весь серебрян, весь паче меда сладчайший, весь честен, весь драг, весь в мудрости широчайший пользы хотящу взирати в него падабает, да ум насладится — Златоуст златои напитает...³⁷

Ценнейший материал о рефлексии книжной культуры, прежде всего связан с вопросами реальной функции данного текста или данного экземпляра издания. Это, нередко, записи запрещающие использовать вложенную книгу для обучения детей или служить по ней вне церкви. Однако немало записей и детально перечисляющих случаи, в которых именно эта книга должна читаться. Например, экземпляр Псалтири с воследованием в издании 1642 г. (Москва: Печатный двор, 12.05; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6335-10-76) в 1745 г. по смете монаха Исаии Свято-Троицкого Ахтырского монастыря была за 30 копеек переплетена ‘и определенно сеи книге быть в трапезе для чтения’. Далее в записи подробно, как в уставе, определяется, когда и что должно читать из книги за трапезой, напоминает что впредь ‘...из трапезы сея книги никому не брать и в келиях держать не надлежит’.

Значительную информацию по этим вопросам содержат надписи на книгах другого типа — комментирующие, дополняющие, исправляющие *текст издания*, к которым, чтобы сразу отличить их от записей, возникших в связи с бытованием данного экземпляра издания, мы применяем термин ‘маргиналии’. Именно из них мы можем почерпнуть сведения о функционировании текстов многих изданий. Приведу в данном контексте только один пример, чрезвычайно актуальный сегодня, когда в старообрядческих церквях остро обсуждается вопрос о времени исполнения Чина освещения воды в праздник Богоявления. На экземпляре московского Служебника, вышедшего из печати 31.08.1655 г. (Осипова, № 103) на полях листов с текстом этого чина приписано, что по решению собора 29 декабря 1655 г. его необходимо отправлять не в сам праздник, а 5 января ‘в навечерии’.

Интересен и актуален материал записей по целому ряду совершенно еще неизученных вопросов. Приведем в качестве примера только одну тему: большинство записей заканчивается так называемой ‘формулой проклятий’, адресованных тем, кто нарушит волю дарителя книги, положившего ее в избранную по той или иной причине церковь, как правило, ‘доколе мир стоит’. Нередко, эта часть записи оказывается достаточно пространной и, судя по постоянному движению даже на ‘вечные часы’ вложенных книг, очень важной. Вот, например, типичная развернутая ‘формула проклятия’, сделанная в 1632 г. на московской Троице постной (1621 г. издания; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 2717-2-80), и удостоверяющей, что

³⁷ Киселева 92, № 261. Эта характеристика вполне традиционна.

даритель ‘приложил’ книгу ‘неподвижно во веки веком, доколе благоволит Бог святым Божиим церквам стоять’. В записи говорится: ‘А хто тое книгу от тех престоловъ хто-нибудь возмет или отдасть или продасть или украдет каким-нибудь вражьим умышлениемъ и воздаи же ему, Господи, по делом его и по лукавству его и ему судитца с нами пред Сосдателемъ в ономъ вѣце. И не буди на немъ милость Божия, пречистыя Богородицы и чюдотворца Николы заступлениемъ и милосердыя крестиянския надежи и помощницы, и всех святых Богу Царю небесному угодившим от века, благословения и прощения ни въ сии вѣкъ ни в будущеи...’.

Это редкая запись, в которой не только гнев божий призывается на голову укравших книгу, но и божия милость на тех ‘хто по сеи книге учнет говорити стихеры или конуны... или порадеет’. В этом случае, обращается автор записи к Господу: ‘даруи ему... спасения и прощения и в рай покой со святыми во веки’.

Характерную развернутую ‘формулу проклятия’ мы находим в записи XVII в., сделанной рукой попа Илариона Пиминова Протопопова на экземпляре первой четверти московского Пролога 1661 г. издания, вложенного ‘калуженином’ посадским человеком Иваном Юрьевичем Голубятниковым: ‘...а кто восхощетъ усвоити книгу сию яко... сынъ Хармиевъ или утаити яко же Ананія и Сапфира, да отъиметь от него Господь Богъ святую свою милость и затворить двери святыхъ щедротъ своихъ и да приидеть на него неблагословение и клятва в нынѣшний вѣкъ, а въ будущи вечная мука. Кто какимъ злымъ своимъ умышлениемъ сие писание от книги изведеть да издереть его имя Господь Богъ от книги животныя во веки векомъ. Аминь’ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 5906-2-82).

На Учительномъ евангелии, изданном в 1606 г. в Крилосе, вкладная запись заканчивается ‘формулой проклятия’: ‘Сия книга никимъ никогда ж от сего святого храму и ни якимъ же обычаемъ отдалена а ни отнимана. Еже аще бы кто дерзнул оттвоити, аще ли ктиторъ или попъ причетникъ или тать или ин кто ж колвек, таковая каждая особа суперника да имаеет пречистую Божию Матерь в день страшного вѣдания праведнаго судии Христа Спасителя нашего, Аминь’ (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 10534-8-71).

‘Формулы проклятий’ запрещают не только изымать книгу из храма, но и использовать ее не по назначению, например, учить по ней детей. Старец Симонова монастыря Сергей, вкладывая в 1661 г. Минею общую (Москва, 19.08.1600; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 1502-1-82) требует: ‘А сия ему книга Минея. И кто будет священник служащу, ис церкви никому не похитити ни заложити ж под заклад ни в ыную церковь не переносити, ни учениковъ по ней не учити. И которой священник или дияк церковный или инъ продасть книгу сию или под заклад заложит или учеников по ней станет учити и мне с ним судитися на господнемъ нашимъ Исусовомъ Христовомъ пришествии...’. Однако, как правило, все эти требова-

ния нарушались, когда книга переходила в другие руки; и учеников также обучали, фактически, по любой церковной книге. Например, на 3-м издании виленского Апостола ([1595 г.] ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 3580-1-82) в XVII в. появилась запись: 'Книга... теглеца Несветая Стефанова апостол по нему учился сын его Дружина, а дал полтора рубли'.

Изредка, записи включали и требование возврата книги на место, куда она была первоначально вложена: '...и никуды не продать и не заложить и не пропить и к иной церкве не отдать и попу собою никуды не снести. А где сия книга инде объявитца опричь сеи церкви Покрова Богородицы и туть сию книгу вынять и превез[ти] снова в оградку судьям для очищения против сеи подписки' (запись на московском Уставе 1633 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50q'a660, инв. 2747-6-80). Иногда эта часть записи предполагает значительное денежное возмездие, если книга будет украдена: '...кто заложит или продаст, и то ему бы доправить 4 рубли с полтиной' (запись XVIII в. на московском Апостоле 1633 г.; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 729-40-81).

Часто в записях заранее оговаривается невозможность возвращения вклада родственникам (и даже самому вкладчику!). Очевидно, такие попытки были нередки. Например, на сентябрьской московской минее 1607 г. (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 2276-2-87) в своеручной записи торгового человека Андрея Иванова сына Селиванова 'а прозвищем Приезжево', вложившего книгу к церкви Ильи пророка на Пробойной улице 'в Ерославле Большем Подольском', говорится: '...а сие книги от церкве не отлучати никому и не владети сею книгою никому кроме церковнаго соборнаго пения и чтения, ни попу ни диякону ни прихожаном ни инымъ пришельцемъ стороннимъ людем ни моему роду ни племяни ни самому мне Андрею.' Инок Пафнутьева Боровского монастыря в своей вкладной записи говорит о том же коротко: '...а дона без отвороту и выпреть не спрашивать мое книги никому' (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, 50h622, инв. 6335-2-76; Апостол, Москва, 29.06.1648).

Независимо от условий вклада и несмотря на проклятия вкладчика через какое-то время книга или устаревала или оказывалась 'в лишках', продавалась или обменивалась (обычно с доплатой) на новую, на которой имя вкладчика уже не появлялось. Редким исключением является запись на московской декабрьской минее 1636 г., сделанная в конце XVIII в. рукой строителя Вишеркого Саввина монастыря Варлаама почти через 100 лет после вклада; она призвана, очевидно, примирить новые интересы монастыря и старые требования вкладчика. Игумен сообщает: '188... дал сию книгу декабрь боярин князь Юрьи Михайлович Одоевской.' Однако из более подробной записи другой руки также конца XVIII в. мы узнаем, что князь Одоевский в 1680 г. вложил в монастырь две триоди — постную и цветную, и когда книги стали ветхими 'те книги две триоди променили

а выменели две книги месечныя' — минеи на декабрь и январь (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 1671-4-86).

Говоря о записях на книгах как об уникальном источнике изучения многих вопросов менталитета, исторической и социальной психологии, следует упомянуть 'пробные' пометы или, точнее, 'пробы пера' содержание которых раскрывает совершенно необычные и иным способом фактически не фиксируемые особенности личности в рамках исторической эпохи.

Однако в завершение статьи, целью которой является только развернутая постановка вопроса, остановимся на материалах, характеризующих различные аспекты народного сознания и менталитета и подтверждающих идею единства письменной и устной культуры в рамках единой традиционной русской словесности. Целый ряд чисто фольклорных жанров, а также единая и для книжности и для устной словесности область духовного стиха, являются формами народного, в том числе, и народно-эстетического осмысления и художественного выражения сущности православия. Не останавливаясь, ввиду специфичности проблемы, на интересном догматико-богословском содержании записей, укажем ниже только на типичные виды фольклорных записей, как увидим, достаточно широко освещающих бытование этой формы русской словесности. В сохранившихся экземплярах старопечатных изданий мы находим, прежде всего, многочисленные нравоучительные сентенции, давно ставшие частью устной словесности и чрезвычайно, очевидно, популярные, так как эти тексты, в том или другом варианте, мы находим на многих книгах. Именно их начала нередко используются и для пробных записей. Прекрасным примером таких текстов могут быть записи на экземпляре 'Книги о вере' (Москва: Печатный двор, 08.05.1648).³⁸ Сначала в экземпляре идет владельческая запись: 'Вавилы Васильева сына Сытнова укусника', а затем две замечательные сентенции, первая из которых чрезвычайно популярна, а вторая — достаточно оригинальна и, скорее всего, относится к обучению иконописанию или грамоте. Обе они написаны на пустом обороте 289 листа издания. Приведем их тексты: 'Не ищи, человеце, мудрости, ищи, человеце, кротости. Аще обрещеши мудрость, то оболеет кротость, не тот мудр, кто много знает — тот, кто мудр, много добра творит.' И другая, близкая к первой, пословица: 'Не тот мудр, кто много знает, а тот мудр, кто никою не обидит.' И следующее поучение: 'Во имя святыя Троицы Отца и Сына и Святаго Духа, хотети уметь и научиться сидети крепко, а писати гладко, не оспесиво, мастера чтити, а себе побоев не чинити.' Таких кратких поучений-сентенций — десятки, и

³⁸ Киселева 92, № 356. К сожалению, первая запись не датирована, а две следующие отнесены Л.И. Киселевой к XVIII в. Очевидно, к тому же времени относится и первая.

одной из их излюбленных тем является проблема пьянства. В этом случае (и в случаях, когда затрагиваются иные популярные темы) сентенции, как мы неоднократно видели выше, превращаются в пословицы: ‘А аще кто опивается вина, тот мало набирается ума и глуп бывает’ (Трефологион, Москва, 01.06.1637; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 6268-4-88). И вторая ‘обратная’ первой пословица: ‘Аще кто не упивается вином, тот бывает крепок умом’³⁹ или: ‘Добро тому пити, кто может в себе пьянство скрыти а злая словеса во устах своих сохранить.’⁴⁰ ‘Аще кто хочет много знати, не подобает тому человеку много спать, разума искать...’.

Очень часто в книгах записываются приметы, говорящие о погоде, и значительно реже фиксируются приметы, предшествующие или объясняющие какие-либо важные события. Например, запись XVIII в. о смерти императора Петра I: ‘...в летнее время в реках вода во все лето была зелена’ и ‘с полунощи до свету западной стране ходили многие столпы’ или ‘ходили страшные огненные столпы’ (Апостол, Москва, 08.10.1648; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 10572-4-67). Гораздо больше на старопечатных книгах записей молитв, многие из которых более или менее, но близки к текстам древних заговоров, например, запись XVIII в. на четвертой четверти московского Трефологиона: ‘Господи Боже, великий Царю, послы, Господи, архангела своего Михаила на помощь рабу своему, имя рек, и защити мя от труса и потопа, от огня и меча и от напрасныя смерти и от тлетворных ветр’ (Осипова, № 46).

Не менее популярны были, судя по постоянно встречающимся в книгах текстам, нравоучительные загадки. Некоторые из них особенно часты, это, например, загадка о богатстве: ‘Стоит человек в воде по горло, просит пить, а напиться не может. Толкование: богатый человек — всем богат, аще желает больше’;⁴¹ о том же пьянстве: ‘Стоит море на пяти столпах, царь говорит — радость моя, царица говорит — погибель моя’ (ответ на загадку — чаша вина, тело и душа). Довольно часто бывают и загадки о книгах, например, на рукописном Хронографе XVII в.: ‘Некая премудрая вещь — ни небо, ни земля, лицом светлосарна, по ней создаются птицы черны и красны, созидают тех птиц трое, подзирают двое, вразумляет один. Ответ:... бумага... чернила черны и красны... трие перста, ... два глаза, един — ум человеческий.’ Достаточно часто на старопечатных книгах мы находим и самые разные загадки и пословицы. Например, ироническое сожаление: ‘Писал рукой — подписал клюкой’

³⁹ *Спирина* 81, № 46. Октоих, ч. 2. Москва: Печатный двор, 1666.

⁴⁰ Канонник XVII в. (рукопись). Воскресенское собрание, № 63. *Тихомиров М.Н.* Записи XIV—XVII вв. на рукописях Чудова монастыря // *Археографический ежегодник за 1958 г.* Москва, 1960, № 75.

⁴¹ *Горфункель А.Х.* Каталог книг кирилловской печати..., 70, № 110. Запись XVIII в. на экземпляре требника 1647 г. издания.

или 'Зять любит взять, а тесть любит честь' (Евангелие учительное, Москва: Печатный двор, 1662; ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 2741-3-80).

Можно напомнить также наличие в каталогах самых различных сведений о переплетах, в них учтены сведения о художественном оформлении, датировке, ценах; и, как уже говорилось выше, в ряде каталогов информация о некоторых сторонах художественных переплетов собрана в указателях.

Очень редко записи сообщают нам имя человека, переплетавшего книгу, но иногда его можно достаточно убедительно установить, изучив все характеристики экземпляра, что и заставляет нас настаивать на полном его описании, не ограничиваясь только фиксацией записей. Например, запись на сентябрьской (дополнительной) четверти Трефологиона (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, инв. 2747-6-80) о продаже книги в 1653 г. в Москве 'книжным переплетчиком' Иваном Федоровым едва ли бы вызвала такой интерес, если бы мы не знали, что, во-первых, на экземпляре сохранился переплет с суперэксlibрисом Московского печатного двора, и, во-вторых, в списках мастеровых Печатного двора в 30—40 г. фигурирует переплетчик Иван Федоров (РГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, ед. хр. 37, л. 162 и др.). Очевидно, Иван Федоров переплел и собственную книгу, украсив ее привычным для него тиснением.

Таким образом, характер и содержание записей поистине безгранично разнообразны, так как рождает их упомянутое выше всегда уникальное сочетание книги и неповторимой человеческой личности, с ее непосредственными эмоциональными реакциями и стремлением оставить о себе память в веках.

Пожалуй самым поразительным примером этого, известным автору данной статьи, является находка книги с записью — автографом Иова Льговского. В 1971 г. экспедицией Московского университета был получен рукописный сборник, принадлежавший Симеону Моховикову — сторожу кремлевского Благовещенского собора, содержащий несколько оригинальных уникальных текстов,⁴² в том числе и Повесть о житии Иова Льговского (ОРКиР НБ МГУ, Ветковско-Стародубовское собрание, № 293). Информация повести о происхождении Иова принципиально отличалась от сведений, приведенных ранее В.Г. Дружининым в его книге 'Раскол на Дону в конце XVII в.' (Санкт-Петербург, 1882), почерпнутых ученым в единственном (утраченном! из собственной коллекции ученого) списке жития Иова. Многолетние поиски доказательств справедливости той или иной редакции текста, даже специальная экспедиция на Дон и Чир (где умер Иов Льговский) ничего не дали, также как и запросы

⁴² Поздеева И.В. Запланированное чудо поиска: О житии Иова Льговского // Общественное сознание, книжность, литература периода феодализма. Новосибирск, 1990, с. 176—183. Ее же. Ищите и обрящете // Родина, 1990, № 9, с. 50—55. Церковь, 1992, № 2, с. 32—42.

в основные рукописные хранилища страны. И только в 1977 г. ответ был получен благодаря находке книги со своеручной вкладной записью самого Иова Льговского, непосредственно из своего XVII в. 'удостоверившего' правильность сведений 'Повесть о житии', которая сообщала, что подвижник происходил из семьи Лихачевых, живших в Волоколамском уезде близ Москвы, отцом его был Тимофей Лихачев, таким образом светское имя Иова — Иоанн Тимофеевич Лихачев.

Еще одна важная перспективная и отлично 'обеспеченная' большим количеством источников тема — понимание и объяснение, — с одной стороны, — рукописных вставок к текстам старопечатной книги, вписанных на ее поля или вплетенных в книгу, как правило, в последние три века, и, по большей части рожденных бытованием книги в руках староверов; с другой стороны, — фрагментов печатных книг, включенных в старообрядческие рукописные конволюты. Эта тема также давно привлекает книговедов и историков, а недавно ей посвятил свою статью А.В. Вознесенский,⁴³ обративший внимание и на изучение истории экземпляров старопечатных книг, и на 'существование старопечатных книг в виде конволютов', и на рукописные дополнения, внесенные в печатные экземпляры, и на самостоятельное функционирование определенных частей изданий. Происхождение большинства из них автор справедливо связывает с книжной культурой старообрядчества, хотя почти все эти явления, в той или иной форме, характерны и для бытования книги в первой половине XVII в.

Несомненно, каталоги старопечатной кириллицы должны сопровождаться указателями текстов, добавленных к экземпляру сверх издания, как это сделано в книге И.М. Грицевской, собравшей в специальные указатели не только все, включенные в изученные ею экземпляры рукописные тексты (71 название), но также и фрагменты XVII—XX в. из изданий оставшихся автору неизвестными. Рукописные вставки, судя по этому указателю, почти не датируются, кроме пасхалии, которая (на разные годы) обнаружена в двух типах книг (Часовник и три экземпляра Святцев). В книге Л.И. Киселевой есть указатель номеров экземпляров, в которых есть рукописные листы, к сожалению, без названий восстановленных или добавленных текстов.

Все вышесказанное позволяет утверждать, что экземпляр старопечатной книги является неоценимым источником для изучения русской истории и культуры. Так как в записях, как правило, объединена информация просопографическая, социальная и географическая, дающая возможность устанавливать где, в чьих руках и когда на местах быто-

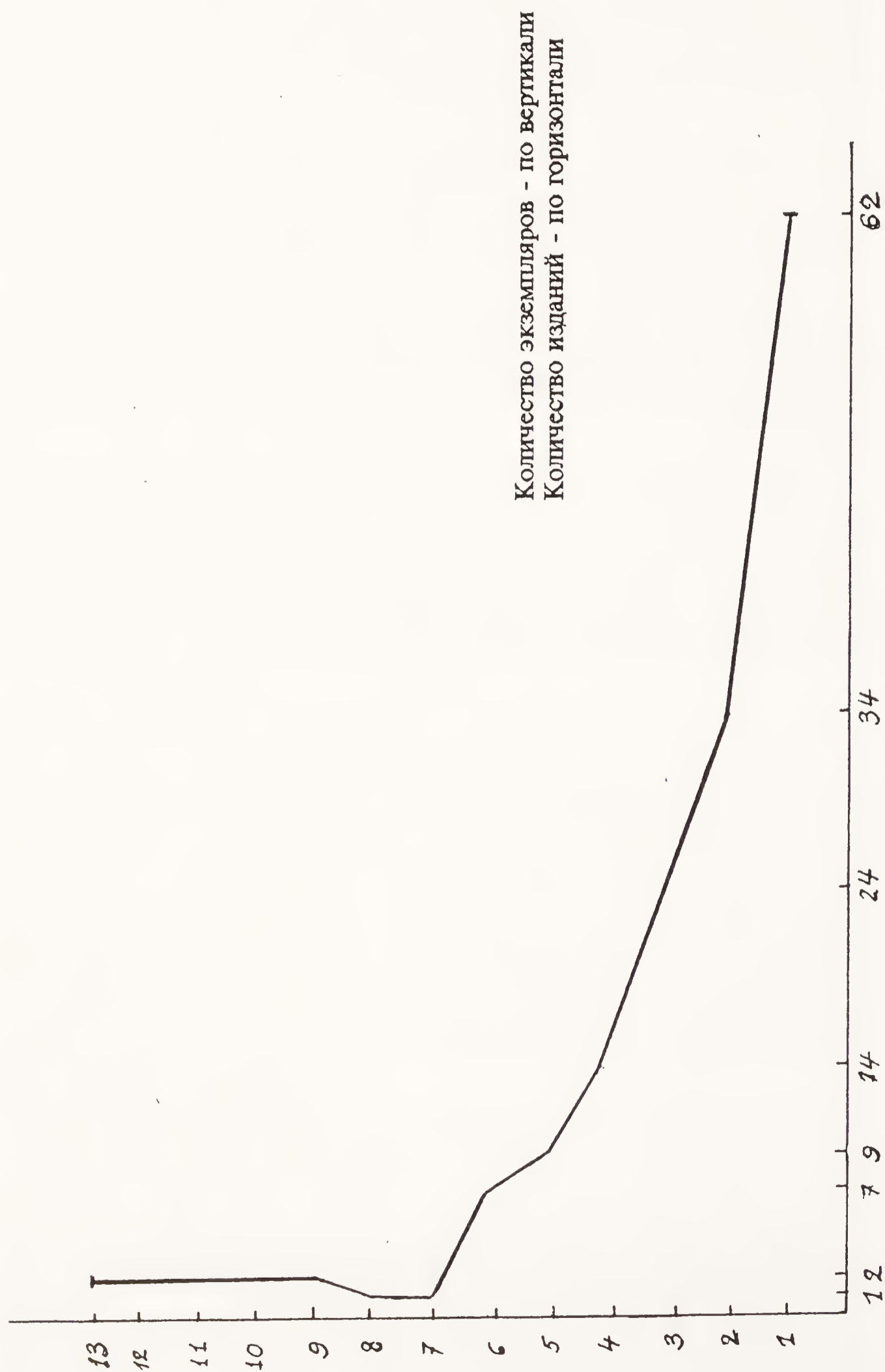
⁴³ См. *Вознесенский А.В.* Старопечатная русская книга и некоторые проблемы ее бытования // История русского языка и севернорусские говоры: Межвузовский сборник научных трудов 1994, с. 36—46.

вала древняя книга, поскольку речь идет о тысячах записей, то с созданием на этом материале банков данных исследователи культуры и книги получили бы не только значительные, но и принципиально новые возможности. Для этого необходима: унифицированная обработка опубликованных данных, максимальный учет и достаточно полное описание еще неизученного кириллического фонда как в России так и в зарубежных библиотеках; издание каталогов при достаточной степени унификации, как методики самих описаний так и подготовки указателей к печати. Программа машинного описания всех особенностей экземпляра и составление соответствующей базы данных параллельно подготовке каталога к печати разработана и апробирована в Археографической лаборатории кафедры Источниковедения отечественной истории Исторического факультета Московского государственного университета им. М.В. Ломоносова. Однако для осуществления этих целей необходимо объединение (и методическое⁴⁴ и практическое!) большинства основных фондодержателей.

И если материал только 20 каталогов ставших источниками предлагаемого исследования позволяет говорить о столь разнообразных и существенных историко-культурных проблемах, то при условии машинной обработки исторической информации многих коллекций старопечатной кириллицы, его источниковедческое значение невозможно переоценить.

⁴⁴ В рамках научной программы 'Редкая печатная и рукописная книга в вузах России. Сохранение. Изучение. Использование' предпринята попытка выработать основы общей методики описания экземпляра старопечатной кириллической книги как исторического источника, максимально учитывая при этом опыт многих российских и зарубежных хранилищ. См. *Поздеева И.В.* Описание экземпляров старопечатных изданий кириллического шрифта: Методические рекомендации. Москва, Санкт-Петербург, 1994.

16 век. ЧАСТОТНОСТЬ СОХРАНИВШИХСЯ ЭКЗЕМПЛЯРОВ ИЗДАНИЙ (РНБ/СПб.)



Характер и объем исторической информации экземпляров старопечатных изданий (по указателям каталогов)

Издание: (каталог, описание)	Год издания	Количество книг в фонде (изд./экз.)			Географический указатель		Именной указатель		Записи			
		XV в.	XVI в.	XVII в.	Всего	Мест бытования и монастырей	Церквей	Всего лиц XVII в.	Экземпляры с записями XVI—XVII вв.	С ценами XVI—XVII вв. рованные XVI—XVII вв.		
1. Горфункель, СПб	1970	—	26/37	149/200	237	106	27	194	—	24		
2. Лукьяненко, СПб	1975	—	—	66/164	164	88	15	212	58			
3. Лобанов, Томск	1975	—	8/8	61/62	70							
4. Шайдакова, Н. Новгород	1975	—	2/2	53/67	69							
5. Поздеева и др., М.	1980	3/3	36/68	277/612	683	553	258	1539	712	528	50	183
6. Поздеева, Чуванов, М.	1981	—	14/16	121/185	201	164	103			170		103
7. Спирина, Загорск	1981	—	3/3	82/125	128							
8. Поздеева, Троицкий, М.	1983	—	5/7	29/31	38	35	13	89				15
9. Амосов, Вологда	1983	—	3/4	214/457	461							67
10. Морозов, Вологда	1985	—	2/2	78/134	136							
11. Осипова, Псков	1985	—	6/6	70/272	278	107	57	254				
12. Веселова, Казань	1986	—	8/10	148/202	212							
13. Савостьянов, Ярославль	1986	—	1/1	52/62	63							
14. Абросимов, Днепрпет.	1988	—	3/3	19/19	22							
15. Полетаев, Екатеринбург.	1990	—	/12	/66	78							
16. Киселева, СПб	1992	—	11/25	/1175	1200	315	88	2714	900	73		341
17. Алексеева, Полкова, Сар.	1993	2/2	43/56	—	58	44	16	166				19
18. Грицевская, Н. Новгород	1993	—	13/16	232/417	433	278	122	624				120
19. Лукьяненко, СПб	1993	7/21	156/404	—	425	256	67	576	230			
20. МГУ, Москва	1996	—	34/67	/303	370							
Всего	26	747	4553	5326	1946	766	6368	1000	1598	123		897

Объем исторической информации в соотношении с количеством описанных экземпляров

Количество каталогов, из которых информация получена	Общее количество экземпляров в каталогах	Процентное соотношение экземпляров информации	Количество мест (и монастырей)	Количество церквей бытования	Всего лиц указанных в записях	Лиц XVI—XVII вв., указанных в записях	Всего экземпляров с записями	Записей с ценами XVI—XVII вв.	Датированных записей XVI—XVII вв.
10	3719	52,3%	1946						
10	3719	20,6%		766					
9	3518	181,0%			6369				
3	1272	78,6%				1000	1598		
3	2081	76,8%						123	
2	1880	6,5%							897
9	3447	26,0%							
Предполагаемый объем информации данного типа всего фонда, учтенного в 20 каталогах	5326	—	2785	1097	9640	4223	4090	346	1385

В работе использованы книги:

1. *Горфункель А.Х.* Каталог книг кирилловской печати XVI—XVII вв. Ленинград, Ленинградский государственный университет, Научная библиотека им. М. Горького, 1970. (*Горфункель 70.*)
2. *Лукьяненко В.И.* Каталог белорусских изданий кирилловского шрифта XVI—XVII в. Вып. 2 (1601—1654 гг.). Ленинград, ГПБ им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, 1975. (*Лукьяненко 75.*)
3. *Лобанов В.В.* Славянские книги кирилловской печати XVI—XVIII в. научной библиотеки Томского государственного университета. Томск, Издательство Томского университета, 1975. (*Лобанов 75.*)
4. *Шайдакова М.Я.* Описание коллекции книг кириллической печати XVI—XVII в. Горьковского историко-архитектурного музея-заповедника. Горький, Горьковский государственный историко-архитектурный музей-заповедник, 1975. (*Шайдакова 75.*)
5. *Поздеева И.В., Кашкарова И.Д., Леренман М.М.* Каталог книг кириллической печати XV—XVII вв. Научной библиотеки Московского университета. Москва, МГУ, 1980. (*Поздеева 80.*)
6. *Поздеева И.В. при участии М.И. Чуванова.* Коллекция старопечатных книг XVI—XVII вв. из собрания М.И. Чуванова: Каталог. Москва, Государственная библиотека им. В.И. Ленина, 1981. (*Поздеева 81.*)
7. *Спирина Л.М.* Книги кириллической печати XVI—XVIII вв. Загорского историко-художественного музея-заповедника: Каталог. Москва, 1981. (*Спирина 81.*)
8. *Поздеева И.В., Троицкий А.Н.* Рукописные и старопечатные книги в личных собраниях Москвы и Подмосковья: Каталог выставки. Москва, Книга, 1983. (*Поздеева 83.*)
9. Памятники письменности в музеях Вологодской области: Каталог-путеводитель (1564—1825) / Отв. сост. А.А. Амосов. Вологда, Вологодское общество ВООПИК, 1983. (*Амосов 83.*)
10. Памятники письменности в музеях Вологодской области: Каталог-путеводитель. ч. 2, вып. 2. Книги кириллической печати Вологодского областного музея (1575—1825) / Отв. ред. В.В. Морозов. Вологда, Вологодское отделение ВООПИК, 1985. (*Морозов 85.*)
11. *Осипова Н.П.* Каталог книг кириллической печати XVI—XVII в. Псковского музея-заповедника. 2-е изд. Псков, Псковский государственный объединенный историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник, 1985. (*Осипова 85.*)

12. *Веселова Л.Ф.* Каталог книг кириллической печат XVI—XVII вв. Казанского государственного университета. Казань, Издательство Казанского университета, 1986. (*Веселова 86.*)
13. *Савостьянов В.В.* Коллекция книг кириллической печати XVI—XVII вв. Государственного архива Ярославской области. Ярославль, 1986. (*Савостьянов 86.*)
14. *Абросимова С.В.* Старопечатные кириллические издания в Днепропетровском историческом музее (1574—1800): Каталог. Днепропетровск, 1988. (*Абросимова 88.*)
15. Путеводитель по фондам старопечатных книг и рукописей Лаборатории археографических исследований, сост. А.В. Полетаев. Свердловск, 1990. (*Полетаев 90.*)
16. *Киселева Л.И.* Корпус записей на старопечатных книгах. Вып. 1: Записи на книгах кириллического шрифта, напечатанных в Москве в XVI—XVII вв. Санкт-Петербург, БАН, 1992. (*Киселева 92.*)
17. Редкие книги Научной библиотеки Саратовского государственного университета. Вып. 13. Старопечатные издания XV—XVI вв., сост. И.И. Алексеева, Н.А. Попкова. Саратов, 1993. (*СГУ 93.*)
18. *Грицевская И.М.* Книги кириллической печати XVI—XVII вв. в фондах Нижегородской областной библиотеки: Каталог / Нижегородская книжная культура: Материалы и исследования. Нижний Новгород, 1993. (*Грицевская 93.*)
19. *Лукьяненко В.В.* Издания кириллической печати XV—XVI вв. (1491—1600): Каталог книг из собрания ГПБ. Санкт-Петербург, 1993. (*Лукьяненко 93.*)
20. В статье использованы материалы 2-й части Каталога старопечатных изданий МГУ (1555—1640), подготовленного группой авторов к печати. Для этих книг указываются обычные данные, необходимые для идентификации экземпляра в библиотеке.

**Cyrillic Early-Printed Books:
The Importance of Descriptions of Individual Copies**

The purpose of this article is to analyse the range and nature of information which can be revealed through the description of individual copies of cyrillic early-printed books and the publication of catalogues of collections held in particular libraries. Study and comparison of twenty catalogues published between 1970 and 1996 highlights the importance of thorough description and a wide range of indexes. On the basis of information about the state of preservation of particular copies, the number of surviving copies of a particular edition, on bindings, source of acquisition, marginalia and, most importantly, inscriptions, historians of culture and of the book can find answers to many questions.

Given the wealth and variety of information which is to be found in just these twenty catalogues, it is evident that a database which drew together data about the holdings of a wide range of libraries, in Russia and abroad, would be an absolutely invaluable source for research. For this it would be necessary for a unified method of description to be adopted. A programme suitable for such an enterprise has been worked out and tested in the Archeographical Laboratory of the Department for the Study of Sources on Russian History which is part of the History Faculty at Moscow University.

Sorbian Book Printing

Franc Šěn

As an introduction, a Sorbian¹ poem by Jurij Koch from 1961:

Susodža

Na dowolu w Tatranskej Lomnicy
so mje prašachu
za nowymi weršemi Lorenca,
Krawže a Brězana.
A powědach, štož wědźach.
Ducy z dowola,
na Budyskej staciji busa,
zetskach młodej holcy.
Dwurěčne plany studujo, hódaštej,
hač su za Polakow, Čechow
abo što wě za koho?
Snano su za Serbow?
'Ja, kann man denn wendisch auch schreiben?'
Mi je so wołojnik zламаł.²

The young poet, delighted by outsiders' interest in the small literature of his own people, comes home to Lusatia and encounters two women, apparently just arrived, who are puzzled by the bilingual timetables. Their question is not really so absurd, nor the answer so obvious, as the poem suggests. It is possible to imagine that they might somehow have sensed that there are certain problems associated with putting any language into writing. It requires suitable characters, the choice of a dialect as widely comprehensible as possible, and not least a standard for the written language and an orthography; but writers and patrons are also needed, publishers and printers, booksellers and hundreds of readers. This is an attempt to outline the history of the Sorbian book through six stages of development or manifestations.

¹ In both colloquial and literary German, the term *wendisch* is commonly used interchangeably with *sorbisch*. The name *Wenden* is a foreign designation of the Sorbs. See also Gerald Stone, *The Smallest Slavonic Nation: The Sorbs of Lusatia* (London, The Athlone Press, 1972), pp. 3–5.

² Jurij Koch, *Nadróžny koncert* (Bautzen, Domowina, 1965), p. 14. 'Neighbours. / On holiday in Tatranská Lomnica, / asked / about the latest poetry / by Lorenc, / Krawža and Brězan. / I told them what I knew. // Back from holiday / at the Bautzen bus station / two young girls. / Studying the bilingual timetables, wondering / whether they were for Poles, Czechs / or whoever. / For the Sorbs perhaps? / "Can you really *write* Wendish too?" / My pencil broke.'

1. The Beginnings (1574–1668)

The oldest Sorbian book known to us, and of which happily one copy has survived, was printed in Bautzen in 1574.³ It is a hymn-book with Luther's Small Catechism,⁴ which served a parish in Lower Lusatia for a century or so. It set an example for further printings of the Catechism in other areas: in Upper Lusatia in 1595, and in 1610 on the northernmost edge of Lower Lusatia.⁵ In all, we have at least some evidence for seven printings.

Historical surveys often remark that the Sorbs owe the birth of their printing to the German Reformation. It is said that Luther's principle of using the native language gave rise to the need for religious publications in the vernaculars of the time. That was not always the case: for instance, in spite of the Reformation we know of no book in the language of the Dravenopolabians in the Hanover *Wendland*, who had been completely assimilated by 1700. For the Sorbs around Wittenberg, too, and everywhere else where it was possible, Latin in church services was replaced by German. In Upper and Lower Lusatia, however, where the rural population was largely still monolingually Sorbian, and where it was harder for the Reformation to make headway because of diversified property relations, Sorbian had to be accepted—at least temporarily—as a language for church use.

Pastors were therefore compelled to translate the most important texts impromptu, or to have them translated; the most commonly used dogmas, formulations and hymns were committed to paper in manuscript, and continued to be used by their successors. Then some of the clergy found with concern that many of these renderings made by theologically uneducated men (Tharaeus speaks of 'idiots and artisans'⁶) were irreconcilable with the tenets of the new faith. There was only one thing to be done: to print and publish better translations. This was done by editors of books in Sorbian, generally drawing on their own resources. Naturally they had to work out for themselves the most suitable style, and had also to accept that their books would probably not be accepted in other parishes, given the patchwork of dialects in the two Lusatias. Of the earliest Sorbian printed books, those from Lower Lusatia had been almost completely destroyed by about 1688 on the orders of the authorities in both Saxony and Brandenburg-Prussia.⁷

³ See Christiane Kind-Doerne, 'Sorbischer Buchdruck in Bautzen, vom Ausgang des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 13 (4), 1973, pp. 933–1020.

⁴ Albin Moller, *Niedersorbisches Gesangbuch und Katechismus: Budissin 1574* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1959) (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Slawistik, 18).

⁵ Andreas Tharaeus, *Enchiridion Vandalicum: ein niedersorbisches Sprachdenkmal aus dem Jahre 1610*. Hrsg. . . . von Heinz Schuster-Šewc (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1990).

⁶ Tharaeus (note 5), p. 64.

⁷ See Frido Mětsk, *Verordnungen und Denkschriften gegen die sorbische Sprache und Kultur während der Zeit des Spätféudalismus: eine Quellensammlung* (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1969),

2. The Development of the Two Written Languages (1670–1730)

Despite these laudable beginnings, even 150 years after the Reformation the great majority of Sorbian parishes were still improvising and using manuscripts for their services. But then in 1679 there appeared in Prague the first printed grammar of the Sorbian language,⁸ six years later a Sorbian Catholic Catechism written according to the rules of that grammar, and shortly after that a book of the Gospels. This was due to the fact that about one-tenth of the population in Upper Lusatia had remained Catholic under the terms of the religious status quo (the so-called *Traditionsrezess*) agreed in the Peace of Prague, when the province became a Saxon fief in 1635. As a result Catholic priests, who had received their training in Prague shortly afterwards, also began to employ the vernacular; one even translated the entire Bible into his own Middle Lusatian dialect, which seemed well suited to the re-Catholicization of further areas of Lusatia.

The Protestant clergy were no less active. A commission set up by Michal Frencel, consisting of incumbents from various dialect areas, had translated the Gospels before 1670; but the authorities in Upper Lusatia did not allow its printing until the Catholics had published their own version. Frencel himself had taken the risk of having separate Gospels printed at his own expense, but these were immediately confiscated. He complained at the Saxon royal court, and after decades of relentless struggle finally saw his Sorbian New Testament published in 1706. His persistence, allied with the support of Pietist-inclined nobles and the activities of the Counter-Reformation, forced the provincial diet of Upper Lusatia to reconsider. They finally decided to tolerate Sorbian—indeed, even to subsidise the printing of some common church texts, and ordered these to be distributed to every parish in Upper Lusatia which was still Sorbian-speaking.⁹ This further, and decisively, promoted the development of a common Upper Sorbian written language, albeit in Protestant and Catholic variants.

In Lower Lusatia circumstances were less favourable. There, despite resistance from the inhabitants, Sorbian was gradually being ousted from church use. Only in the district of Cottbus, which belonged to Prussia though located within the Electorate of Saxony, was the language tolerated for political reasons. Here a German Pietist established the first printing-house himself, and

pp. 15–17 (Schriftenreihe für Lehrer und Erzieher im zweisprachigen Gebiet, 1/69); and Frido Mětsk, *Der Kurmärkisch-wendische Distrikt* (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1965), pp. 126–130 (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für sorbische Volksforschung, 24).

⁸ Jacobus Xaverius Ticinus, *Principia linguae wendicae, quam aliqui wandalicam vocant*. Neu-druck mit einem Vorwort von Frido Michalk (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1985).

⁹ Frido Mětsk, 'Der Anteil der Stände des Markgraftums Oberlausitz an der Entstehung der obersorbischen Schriftsprache (1668–1728)', in Frido Mětsk, *Studien zur Geschichte sorbisch-deutscher Kulturbeziehungen* (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1980), pp. 24–44 (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für sorbische Volksforschung, 55).

in 1706 published Luther's Catechism, then three years later—using manuscripts already available—the entire New Testament.¹⁰ In so doing he laid the foundations of the Lower Sorbian written language. Owing to the significant differences between Upper and Lower Sorbian, and to the lack of a single common economic and cultural centre, these two separate written languages have survived to the present day.¹¹

To return to Upper Lusatia: although the Catholic clergy were the first to translate the Bible, they did not receive the necessary support from their superiors for printing it; so four Protestant pastors were in fact the first to publish the entire Bible in Sorbian, in 1728. This edition, thanks to its popular language and high quality of printing, ranks today as one of the most precious Sorbian books ever produced.

3. The Book Reaches the People (1730–1830)

By around 1710 at the latest, with the publication of the first Protestant hymn-book (a Catholic one had appeared sixteen years earlier), the printed book had ousted the old manuscripts in all the parishes of Upper Lusatia. This firmly ensured the stability of the Sorbian–German language boundary for over 150 years. Moreover, the sales of Frenzel's New Testament had shown that the printing of Sorbian books could also be lucrative for the bookseller. With the gradual improvement of elementary education during the eighteenth century, the book became an object which even the ordinary man would acquire for himself. In 1742 a German Pietist published the full Bible in Sorbian again, and for the first time brought it genuinely to the people by means of the affordable price and the large print run.

The flood of devotional literature now also discovered the Sorbian market. Soon at least one Sorbian book or pamphlet was appearing each year. Besides constant new printings and revisions of the hymn-book, there were parts of the Bible, Catechisms, prayer-books, sermons and many more.

In the period of the Enlightenment, scholars began to take an interest in the fortunes of the Sorbs and in Sorbian books: in 1740, commemorating three hundred years of printing, there was published a 'History of Upper Lusatian printing-houses' by Christian Knauth, which contained a contribution 'On Upper Lusatian Wendish books'.¹² A little later, a pastor wrote about the fifty and more 'Wendish writings' which he possessed, thus for the first

¹⁰ See Frido Mětšk, *Die Brandenburgisch-Preußische Sorbenpolitik im Kreise Cottbus: vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Posener Frieden (1806)* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1962), pp. 35–36 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Slawistik, 25).

¹¹ See Helmut Faßke, 'Der Weg des Sorbischen zur Schriftsprache', in *Language Reform: History and Future*, vol. VI, hrsg. István Fodor, Claude Hagège (Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag, 1994), pp. 257–283.

¹² Christian Knauth, *Annales typographici Lusatiae Superioris oder Geschichte der Oberlausitzischen Buchdruckereien* (Köln, Böhlau, 1980), pp. 12–36 (Slawistische Forschungen, 30).

time describing a Sorbian library.¹³ Shortly after the end of the Seven Years' War there appeared three works of importance to the formation of a national consciousness, all of them with bibliographies of earlier Sorbian publications. The most detailed one—not yet superseded—was by Knauthe.¹⁴ In the same year a pastor named Jurij Mjeń demonstrated the 'worth, riches, beauty and honour' of the Sorbian language in his metrically accurate translation from Klopstock's *Messias*. In the *Rěčerski kěrliš* ('Poetic song'), written in hexameters in the same style, the same writer celebrated the 'crowd of pious writers' and founded secular Sorbian poetry.

4. Foundation and Development of Sorbian Publishing and Book Culture (1830–1933)

In the mid-nineteenth century, after a hundred years of almost exclusively religious publishing, numerous books on secular subjects suddenly began to appear: in 1841–43 Smoler's encyclopaedic work *Volkslieder der Wenden in der Ober- und Niederlausitz—Pěsnički hornych a delnych Łužiskich Serbow*;¹⁵ in 1847 *Serbski kwas* ('Sorbian wedding'), the libretto of a secular oratorio by Handrij Zejler; in 1849 Mučink's *Ribowčenko* ('The citizens of Ribow, or a political tale of modern times'); in 1850 a book on Greenland and its inhabitants; in 1852 Wjela-Radyserb's historical account of the battle of Hochkirch; and in 1854 Stempel's metrical translation into Lower Sorbian of Phaedrus' fables—to mention only a few typical examples. All the writers were inspired by the ambition to make a general education accessible in Sorbian to their own people, to apply scholarship to their own history and national culture, to transmit that scholarship in their own language, and to develop the latter further in so doing.

With this purpose, in 1847 Protestant and Catholic clergy and teachers formed a scholarly and cultural society, the *Maćica Serbska*. From then onwards, this private institution has published a scholarly journal¹⁶ as well as

¹³ 'Verzeichniss aller edierten wendischen Schriften, des oberlausitz-budissinischen-camenzischen und löbauischen Creises, nebst kurzen Anmerkungen, welche alle zusammen colligieret und besitzt Christoph Friedrich Faber [...]', in *Acta historico-ecclesiastica* (Weimar), 10 (1746), pp. 518–550.

¹⁴ Georg Körner, *Philologisch-kritische Abhandlung von der Wendischen Sprache und ihrem Nutzen in den Wissenschaften [...]* (Leipzig, 1766); *Kurzer Entwurf einer Oberlausitz-wendischen Kirchenhistorie abgefaßt von einigen Oberl. wendischen evangel. Predigern* (Budissin, 1767); Christian Knauthe, *Derer Oberlausitzer Sorberwenden umständliche Kirchengeschichte* [Görlitz, 1767], hrsg. von R. Olesch (Köln/Wien, Böhlau, 1980) (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 85).

¹⁵ *Volkslieder der Sorben in der Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz—Pěsnički hornych a delnych Łužiskich Serbow*. Fotomechanischer Nachdruck mit einem Vorwort von Jan Raupp (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1992).

¹⁶ *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje* = *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft Maćica Serbska*. Fotomechanischer Neudruck. Auswahl, Zusammenstellung und Bibliographie Jan Petr (Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag, 1986–1987), 2 vols.

books for education and recreation. Whereas, up to 1840, only one or two Sorbian books had been published in a year, ten years later the number was between ten and twenty.

The principal instigator of the society's foundation was Jan Arnošt Smoler.¹⁷ He was also the first editor of the journal just mentioned, *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje*; he established the first Sorbian publishing and bookselling concern in Bautzen in 1851; and in 1873–75 he erected the Maćica building, the first home of the nation's cultural life. The library and archive of the Maćica Serbska, previously in private accommodation, were housed there; and there Smoler also set up a printing-house with loans from fellow Slavs. The Sorbian House in Bautzen, financed by contributions from the Sorbs themselves and inaugurated in 1904, also owed its existence to his initiative.

By the turn of the century, numerous published series were covering a growing range of instructional, recreational and factual literature, including several series of dramatic texts for the secular theatre. 'To keep Sorbian as a living language, so as to develop with its help the highest attainable level of human culture', as Jakub Lorenc-Zalěski put it in his diary in 1936¹⁸—this was the hope and endeavour of the Sorbian intellectuals.

5. The End for a Time (1933–1945)

Notwithstanding all the financial sacrifices which authors and publishers had made in order to secure the existence of the Sorbian book, the most difficult years were still ahead. Two-and-a-half months after the National Socialists' assumption of power in Germany, all the senior staff of Smoler's printing-house and bookshop were removed. Outsiders, with no interest in the enterprise but accommodating to the Nazis, replaced them. In the spring of 1934 the enterprise was declared bankrupt. A courageous young lawyer, Dr Jan Cyž, bought the Sorbian firm and attempted, with as few concessions as possible, to carry on its publishing and printing activity on a more modest scale. This was not tolerated for long. On 25 August 1937 a unit of the Gestapo occupied the Sorbian House, arrested the manager and sealed the rooms.¹⁹ The printing equipment was dismantled, and the books in the stock-room and the shop were sent for shredding. The valuable library of the Maćica Serbska was confiscated and carried off to Berlin. Sorbian teachers and clergy were transferred to German-speaking areas. Deprived of its foundations, the Sorbian language for years disappeared almost completely from public usage. Even the use of the

¹⁷ Johann Ziesche, 'Das sorbische Druckereiwesen in Bautzen', in *Bautzener Kulturschau*, 14 (1) (1964), pp. 8–10; 14 (2) (1964), pp. 10–11.

¹⁸ *Serbska čitanka = Sorbisches Lesebuch*, hrsg. von Kito Lorenc (Leipzig, Reclam-Verlag, 1981), p. 5.

¹⁹ Jan Cyž, *W tlamje ječibjela: dopomnjenki na lěta 1926 do 1944* [Memoirs] (Budyšin, Ludowe nakładnistwo Domowina, 1984), pp. 134–138.

terms *Wenden* or *Sorben* in any publication was prohibited by the authorities.

6. The Sorbian Book after the Second World War

Until 1937 Sorbian imaginative literature was almost universally published in small, very modest and cheap popular editions. This was dictated by the limited print-runs, the absence of a middle class and the predominantly rural readership. There were a few exceptions: scholarly publications and definitive editions of national literary works, led by the four-volume collected works of Handrij Zejler (1883–1891), and Jakub Bart-Ćišinski's first volumes of lyrics, with which he first introduced classical poetry in Sorbian.

By the sixties of this century, after many post-war difficulties and makeshifts had been overcome, an entirely new scene presented itself: Sorbian books in attractive bindings, many of them well illustrated, were appearing in growing numbers at the international book fairs in Leipzig and Warsaw. This was a sign of both the cultural and the linguistic blossoming of this small Slavonic literature. Whereas the role of the Sorbian book had until then been limited to exploring the identity and forming the consciousness of its own people, now critical modern lyric poetry, novels and multi-volume historical works were appearing, often in bilingual editions. Sorbian fairy-tales and translations of children's literature indicated in their imprints collaboration with foreign publishers. New, substantial collected editions of the literary heritage appeared alongside historical and linguistic writing, illustrated books, reference works and so on. Most striking of all was the number of new titles: 90 to 100 per year—ten times that of the period before 1937.

The first cause of this unexpected flowering was the state-owned Domowina publishing-house, founded in 1958, with its editorial staffs for imaginative and scholarly literature, which took an active part in the development. The second cause was the setting-up of Sorbian schools and of two extended secondary schools (now *Gymnasia*). An editorial staff for school textbooks at Domowina supplemented this. The third cause was a university department of Sorbian studies at Leipzig University and a non-university research institute at Bautzen, both of which could—and still can—devote themselves professionally to the study of Sorbian history, language and literature. The prerequisite for all this was the 'Law guaranteeing the rights of the Sorbian population' passed by the provincial parliament of Saxony in 1948, which ushered in the institutionalization of the minority culture. Allowing for justifiable doubts about the good faith of some state representatives of the GDR in furthering Sorbian interests—for this process was also linked with domination, regulation and censorship—nevertheless after 1945 the Sorbian book was afforded the same opportunities as those possessed by the literatures of other peoples. Its long and difficult earlier history proved to be a precondition which allowed the new possibilities to be fully exploited. The professionalization of Sorbian

culture which now set in enabled it to rise above provincial narrowness and limitations, and to foster effectively the creative potential at hand.

7. Preserving the Cultural Heritage for the Future

A number of Sorbian libraries were founded from the mid-eighteenth century onwards by private individuals or associations. The most important one to collect early and current Sorabica relatively systematically was the library of the Maćica Serbska, set up in 1848. As has been mentioned, its stock was confiscated and removed to Berlin in 1937, and then in 1943 evacuated to an estate in Lusatia. Happily, after the war the Sorbian books were found unharmed and largely intact. This part of the stock of the Maćica's library formed the basis of the Sorbian Central Library in Bautzen, founded in 1949, which was shortly afterwards attached to the Sorbian Academy-Institute set up there in 1951. Early and rare Sorbian printed books are also preserved in other libraries in Germany and elsewhere.²⁰ One of the desiderata for research on Sorbian printing is the listing and description of these books. Together with the recording and preservation of this heritage, and facing a diminishing readership and changed economic conditions, the chief concern of the Sorbs is to carry on the four hundred years and more of tradition behind Sorbian printing and literature.

Translated from German by Gregory Walker

²⁰ For example, the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel possesses the first Upper Sorbian book—Wenceslaus Warichius' Small Catechism printed in Bautzen in 1595—and the Ratschulbibliothek in Zwickau has a reprint of 1597, while the sole copy held in Bautzen was burned in St Michael's Church during the fighting in April 1945.

Slavic Studies Librarians in North America: Current Challenges and Future Expectations*

June Pachuta Farris

Introduction

It seems nearly as difficult to provide a concise portrait of North American Slavic Studies librarians as it is to formulate one, all-encompassing description of the collections they manage or the academic programs which provide the basis for their development. Nevertheless, creating a profile of a North American Slavic Studies librarian is not such an impossibility as it might seem, because we do all share some fundamental goals and because, generally speaking, we share a commonality of experience, through our library education, through the professional organizations and activities in which we participate and, most of all, through our shared problems and struggles to find solutions to them. I will at least make the attempt to provide a composite sketch of who we are and what we do.

The very term 'Slavic Studies librarian' is elusive and inexact, opening the door to a myriad of possible variations in both the geography encompassed and the tasks performed. We are bibliographers, catalogers, reference and information specialists, preservationists, administrators, accountants, linguists, translators, consultants, scholars, researchers, writers, editors and teachers. Some of us must perform all of these functions within the scope of one job, acting as their library's sole representative of 'things Slavic'; many others of us share these responsibilities among a professional staff of two or three or four, while a very few of us are able to concentrate all of our attention in one area or language, either because we are part of a large staff of specialists or because our library (and academic institution) has chosen to focus on only one language or area of Slavic and East European Studies. Our libraries are organized in what seems like an infinite number of ways, from the most decentralized network of specialized and autonomous departmental libraries to the most centralized type of library where all procedures must conform to a fixed set of standards. This, of course, directly influences the ways in which we can function and interact with our colleagues at other institutions.

The geographic areas and the languages we must deal with are equally diverse, so that our formal titles rarely encompass the extent of our 'area'. Perhaps the ideal, if staggeringly awkward title for most of us would be 'Librarian

* Research for this publication was supported by a grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board, with funds provided by the U.S. Department of State (Title VIII) and the National Endowment for the Humanities. None of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed.

for Slavic, Baltic, Balkan, Central Asian, Transcaucasian, Central and East European Studies' or some such variation. For the sake of simplicity, in the course of this paper, I will use 'Slavic and East European' as the most representative form used in our titles and in our publications.

Likewise, since the great majority of Slavic and East European specialists work in academic libraries or large research libraries such as the Library of Congress or the New York Public Library, for the purposes of this presentation, my remarks will be limited to research libraries, while being aware that there will be some important differences for those in other types of libraries. Also, I will most often speak of the situation pertaining to libraries and librarians in the United States, all the while keeping in mind our close contacts and many similarities with our Canadian colleagues, with whom we regularly exchange ideas and information, both informally and through a wide variety of conferences, meetings and workshops in both of our countries.

Shared Backgrounds

The history of Slavic collections, particularly Russian collections, in U.S. libraries reaches back into the first decades of the nineteenth century and even earlier for some small number of U.S. academic and research libraries clustered on the eastern seaboard, with only a few widely scattered collections of any size or significance to be found in the midwest or west before the middle of the twentieth century. The real growth in the number and size of Slavic and East European collections began only in the late 1950s and early 1960s, concurrent with the formation of a network of federally funded university area studies centers. Generous grants from private foundations and funding agents further enhanced the growth of these Slavic collections. As the collections grew, the necessity for more staff with language and subject expertise also grew. By the 1970s and 1980s, the earlier generations of Slavic librarians, recruited primarily from the ranks of academic departments, were followed by a generation trained expressly as librarians, albeit with strong credentials in other academic disciplines as well. (In general, Slavic librarians who began working in the field during the last twenty years hold a library masters or doctorate degree, as well as an advanced degree in some area of Slavic and East European studies, most often in history, literature or linguistics.)

With very few exceptions, the current state of library education for Slavic specialists continues this traditional dual pattern of separate degrees. In preparation for a national conference on 'The Future of Area Studies Librarianship', which took place in Indianapolis, Indiana, in July 1995, under the auspices of Indiana University, a questionnaire was sent to over 550 area studies librarians, library directors and deans of library schools. Of the 35 library schools responding to the questionnaire, only two reported offering a joint degree program, one of them being Indiana University's new program for Slavic and East

European librarianship. Only six libraries (17.1%) reported offering course work that focuses primarily on area librarianship. The most usual manifestation of this course work for the Slavic and East European area is one course or sequence of courses on Russian bibliography or Slavic bibliography, generally offered to both library school students and graduate students in other disciplines. In addition, some few schools offer the possibility of an internship or practicum, allowing the student to gain experience by actually working in a Slavic unit or department. Although the need for specialized training has always been there, particularly since a significant number of Slavic librarians fill unique positions within their institutions, with no other Slavic librarian available for consultation, formal specialized training remains difficult to obtain.

The initiative for professional development for Slavic librarians has come from Slavic librarians themselves, most often through numerous externally funded ad hoc programs, workshops, seminars and lecture series offered on the local, regional or national level. In the early 1970s, the University of Illinois Slavic and East European Library sponsored a workshop for beginning Slavic librarians, not followed by another until nearly two decades later in 1989. In 1978, that same library hosted a workshop on 'Slavic Bibliography' funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, followed by another workshop on 'Russian, Soviet and East European Bookstudies' in 1990. Since 1984, the Slavonic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library has offered a series of staff seminars on a wide variety of topics, drawing on the expertise of the many Slavic library specialists in the New York metropolitan area. The Slavic and East European Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries (SEES/ACRL), a division of the American Library Association, for many years now has had a Continuing Education Committee, which, from time to time, has itself sponsored workshops on a variety of topics. The most recent of these took place during the 1992 National Conference of the American Library Association, concerning 'Slavic and East European Collections and the Dilemmas of the Non-Specialist' and 'New Challenges in Slavic and East European Librarianship'. Supplementing these workshops are the Section's annual program panel. And over the last twenty-five years, the number of library-related panels and roundtables presented at the conferences of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) has grown considerably, so that each year's conference offers the opportunity of six or seven separate panels on an extensive array of topics, both scholarly and practical. A review of the SEES *Newsletter* (1985–)¹ can provide

¹ The SEES *Newsletter* is published annually by SEES ACRL, a division of the American Library Association (latest volume: no. 11, 1995). Non-members may subscribe by sending \$6.00 (U.S.) and \$8.00 (foreign) to: SEES Newsletter, c/o Allan Urbanic, The Library, Room 346, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

a detailed picture of most of these events and a host of others. Through membership in SEES/ACRL and/or AAASS, as well as participation in a variety of special workshops, Slavic librarians new to the field have generous opportunities for increasing their expertise and knowledge of their field in a relatively short period of time.

Shared Goals

In my introduction, I made reference to some fundamental goals and objectives that we Slavic librarians share, whatever the size of our collections, staffs and budgets or whether these collections are found in private institutions or public. Although these objectives are obvious, basic, and simple in their statement, the obstacles to fulfilling them are enormous and complex. I would list the following among the most important of our common goals:

- To provide our own library's primary users with the specific materials and information they need to conduct their study, teaching and research, whether through acquisition or the sharing of resources.
- To maintain a reasonable and representative level of acquisition of new materials in all of the languages and from all of the countries under our jurisdiction.
- To maintain in-depth coverage in those areas of the humanities and social sciences that have formed the basis of most of our academic collections.
- To build collections in new areas of research and in areas for which there is renewed interest or for which information is newly available.
- To preserve our collections using both traditional and new technologies.
- To continue to make our collections as physically and bibliographically accessible as possible, using both traditional and new technologies.

Shared Problems

Slavic librarians have always faced serious and distinctive problems in developing and managing their collections, which I will not go into in any great detail here. For an excellent and concise summary of the state of Slavic librarianship in North America up to 1991, I would recommend Marianna Tax Choldin's contribution to the article 'Area Studies in United States Libraries'.² The many new difficulties which have arisen since 1991 seem interminable and infinite in scope and have consumed the major portion of our professional lives and meetings for the last four years. In no particular order or emphasis, I will merely mention a few of the most pressing (and depressing) of them:

² *Advances in Librarianship*, v. 15, pp. 239–245.

- The lack of bibliographic control over currently published materials, coupled with very small tirages and a very short 'in print' life for most publications.
- Substantial increases in book prices and serial subscriptions, coupled with static or declining budgets for most North American libraries. (Repeated serial cancellation projects are a common circumstance at many libraries, just at this time in history when hundreds of interesting and important new Slavic and East European journals, almanachs and newspapers are being published.)
- The diversity of subjects, languages, countries and vendors we must deal with, because no one or two dealers is now able to provide comprehensive coverage for all countries and languages in which we collect materials.
- The deterioration of exchange programs. (Many libraries once relied upon for extensive exchange programs can no longer provide comprehensive coverage or can do so only at greatly increased prices which, at times, exceed those of commercial vendors. Other libraries, with access to important institutional publications, have been forced to cancel their exchange programs or suspend them indefinitely. Developing new subject profiles and renegotiating new exchange terms in relation to wildly fluctuating currencies has more than ever become a time-consuming process.)
- Large cataloging arrearages which remain (and continue to grow) in spite of many local, regional and national projects to reduce their numbers.
- The continued need for the preservation of materials already in our collections, an expensive and labor-intensive process.
- The need for direct and speedy communication with our colleagues at libraries in all the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Shared Solutions

Because these and many other problems seem almost insurmountable, both in the past and in the present, the need and desire for formal and informal cooperative efforts in acquisitions, cataloging, preservation and reference have emerged over the last twenty-five years as a consistent theme at our conferences and workshops. The development of our two national automated bibliographic utilities, OCLC (On-Line Computer Library Center) and RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network), has done more to foster cooperation and the exchange of data than any other single factor, followed in the last few years by the rapid development of the Internet and personal electronic communication. Whether it be for the acquisition of new materials, the retrospective conversion of card files to electronic records, the dissolution of uncataloged arrearages or the preservation of deteriorating collections, Slavic

and East European-related library grants, almost without exception, include a component for loading any new bibliographic records created into OCLC and RLIN, thus making them available to the world at large.

Cooperative efforts seem to have been most successful and sustained in the areas of cataloging and preservation, areas for which one can define known quantities of material with some precision, divide responsibilities likewise and measure the results. Reviewing the 'Library News' column of the *AAASS NewsNet*³ and the 'Grants' section of the *SEES Newsletter* reveals an impressive array of cataloging and preservation projects involving Slavic materials. However, it becomes immediately evident that individual libraries cannot support such efforts using their own monetary resources, but must rely on federal and private foundation programs such as the U.S. Department of Education's Title II-C competitions, programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), as well as other programs such as the 'Special Projects for Library and Information Science' of the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX). The future for continued federal funding at past levels seems distinctly discouraging, given the current impetus of the federal government to decrease grant programs of every kind. All of our ingenuity and skill will be needed to pursue similar efforts in the future.

Cataloging/Retrospective Conversion

Among the national shared cataloging initiatives which have included a Russian or Slavic component are the Library of Congress's NCCP project (National Cooperative Cataloging Project), for which various libraries have provided authority records and bibliographic data to RLIN and OCLC. Other projects, such as the recent University of California Berkeley/Stanford University/Hoover Institution's three-year project to convert 186,360 manual records into machine-readable form and load them into their online catalogs and OCLC and RLIN (adding 24,300 new titles to those databases), have made significant contributions to all aspects of our cooperative efforts.

Enormous backlogs of uncataloged Slavic and East European materials have been a chronic problem for North American research libraries for many decades. In May 1989, through the sponsorship of the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), a conference of some fifty Slavic and East European library and information specialists was held to discuss the problem of access to Slavic and East European materials in North American libraries. Cataloging arrearages that number in the tens of thousands were deemed to be a primary problem of the profession, a major obstacle to truly effective cooperative collection

³ *NewsNet: The Newsletter of the AAASS*. Published five times a year by AAASS, 8 Story Street, Cambridge, Mass., MA 02138. Fax: 617-495-0677.

development and a barrier to research. In 1992 and 1993, in response to this situation, SSRC and ACLS were able to offer awards totaling \$676,000 for 17 cataloging projects at 15 different institutions.

Preservation

Over the last twenty years, a substantial number of individual library projects have been funded, such as the New York Public Library's \$211,000 Department of Education Title II-C grant for the preservation of 'The Russian Illustrated Book and Photographic Collections' or the University of Kansas's \$105,000 Title II-C grant for the preservation and cataloging of 3,000 nineteenth-century titles on the social history of Imperial Russia. Many other large, cooperative efforts contain a substantial Slavic component, such as the Hoover Institution's NEH grant of almost \$1,000,000 for the preservation of more than 60,000 rare European pamphlets, many of which were published in Eastern Europe. And, beginning in 1988 and continuing through the present, in a series of preservation projects funded by NEH, the CIC consortium (Committee for Interinstitutional Cooperation) has received several millions of dollars for joint preservation projects, a number of which have included Slavic materials: the University of Illinois has filmed and recataloged 1,500 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian monographs, while Indiana University Library filmed 140 Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Yugoslav and Bulgarian serial titles found in its collections and the University of Michigan is currently filming 1,950 volumes of Russian, Soviet and East European serial publications of academies, universities and learned societies.

Reference

Although generally much more informal and individualized than cooperative efforts in the technical services, cooperation in the field of reference service has perhaps been the most immediately effective area of interaction and cooperation. The Slavic Reference Service of the University of Illinois Library, available to the international community of scholars since the early 1980s, is a source of last resort often used by librarians as well as researchers. In 1991, in a stroke of good fortune that kept us from total despair during the collapse of the Soviet publishing and book distribution network, came the full emergence and availability of the Internet and the consequent development of the Slavic Librarians Forum/Listserve (initiated by Allan Urbanic of the University of California Berkeley Library). Both of these events changed the dimensions of our professional world forever. Among its many other uses, we use the forum to query each other about difficult or elusive reference questions and perhaps most importantly, to determine specific serial holdings not listed in any published sources.

Acquisitions/Collection Development

Cooperative efforts in the area of acquisitions and collection development have been much more problematic, difficult to formulate and even more difficult to execute, perhaps because we are dealing with the unknown elements of changing user needs and materials yet to be published or yet to be acquired. In addition, our individual materials budgets are so complexly tied to our individual libraries' general budgets, that it is often quite difficult to make long-term commitments that we know would be of benefit to our own institution and the scholarly community as a whole. Sharing information about major acquisitions is not at all uncommon, but a truly satisfactory model by which one can predetermine which library should purchase certain materials from certain countries and in certain languages, has not yet evolved. Nevertheless, many efforts at cooperative acquisitions have been made in the last twenty-five years, particularly at the local and regional levels. Although a few collaborative efforts have been in existence for some time (the University of North Carolina/ Duke University/University of Virginia arrangement, for example or the Indiana University/University of Michigan Slavic acquisitions guidelines), no comprehensive, large-scale program for the cooperative acquisitions of Slavic and East European materials yet exists. In all of our present and future efforts, the importance of formal consortia in this process is likely to be great, providing the infrastructure necessary to administer special arrangements and agreements. Among the more broadly based groups which currently exist or are in the process of being organized are:

- **CIC.** The Committee for Interinstitutional Cooperation is a long-standing consortium of twelve midwest universities and their libraries, including the public universities of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa and Pennsylvania, as well as private institutions such as the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. Its subgroup of Slavic and East European specialists formally met in 1992 to discuss possible future projects and areas for cooperation. They have surveyed their library staffs and produced a joint list of staff language expertise and regularly exchange information about large acquisition purchases.
- **ECCSC.** The East Coast Consortium for Slavic Collections, whose membership includes the libraries of Columbia University, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Yale and the New York Public Library, first met in 1993 to explore the possibilities for cooperative efforts and have continued to communicate via an electronic mail listserve.
- **PACSLAV.** The Pacific Coast Slavic and East European Library Consortium whose participating membership includes Stanford University, University of California Berkeley, University of Washington and the University of Hawaii. Affiliate members include the University of California Los

Angeles, University of Oregon and the University of British Columbia. They are in the final stages of formalizing their by-laws and have already begun to identify areas for further discussion.

- **SEEMP.** The Slavic and East European Microforms Project is in the beginning stages of organization. The Center for Research Libraries has formed a steering committee, with representatives from CIC, ECCES, PACSLAV and the Bibliography and Documentation Committee of AAASS, in order to explore the possibility of a Slavic equivalent to other area studies microform projects currently administered by the Center.
- **SLAVIC LIBRARIANS WORKSHOP.** This workshop was first organized in 1991 in response to the problems created by the collapse of the Soviet Union's publishing and book distribution network and has since met annually in conjunction with the University of Illinois Russian and East European Summer Research Laboratory. The workshop is not a formal consortium per se, but an unofficial forum to discuss in detail various aspects of collection development and cataloging. Participation is open to all Slavic and East European librarians and each year draws a diverse group from a variety of regions in the United States and Canada.

Conclusion

'Future expectations' is the final phrase of this paper's title, so I will end with what I think these expectations can reasonably be in an environment where so much is beyond our control. These expectations are modest and achievable, I think, but nevertheless, extremely important, not returning us to past patterns, but creating some degree of order so that we all can deal with the difficulties inherent in our work in new ways. Among my expectations for the next five years are:

- Improved bibliographic control over currently published materials in all the countries in which we have an interest.
- A better understanding of the uses, benefits, limits and capabilities of exchange programs.
- A more stable and developed infrastructure for publishers and commercial vendors, with a subsequent improvement in reliable book distribution networks. (One effort in this direction is the 'Handbook on Procedures For the Acquisition of Slavic and East European Materials for Vendors and Exchange Partners', being compiled by the Subcommittee on Collection Development of the AAASS Bibliography and Documentation Committee. The handbook is now in draft form and will hopefully be ready for publication by the end of 1995; it is meant to be widely distributed internationally among Slavic and East European publishers, vendors and librarians.)

- A more stable pricing system, somewhere between the very inexpensive books of the Soviet era and the often inflated cost of many current imprints.
- Improved bibliographic and physical access to special collections and archives.
- A continued increase in the communication and cooperation of Slavic librarians around the world.

One final word about what is perhaps our most useful resource—our ability and willingness to communicate with each other, whether electronically, through print or in person. Throughout this talk I have mentioned the Internet, electronic mail, the Slavic Librarians Listserve and several other manifestations of new electronic technologies that have greatly changed the way we do what we do and how we communicate with each other. We do communicate with each other without hesitation and with much more frequency than in the past. When we do meet face to face, there has usually been a great deal of earlier electronic discussion that allows us to focus our attention on the issues at hand more quickly and productively than in the past. This ease and breadth of communication is now beginning to extend itself to our colleagues around the world and will stand us all in good stead as we pursue common interests and develop strategies to solve mutual problems on an international level, something which is surely necessary, given the scope of the areas we cover and the obstacles we face.

Political crisis half a world away, monetary restrictions at home and the infinity of cyberspace have succeeded in bringing North American Slavic librarians together into a close-knit working group, something that could not have been foreseen when the first Slavic Librarians Conference was organized almost twenty-five years ago. In many ways we are among the most diverse of groups, responding to the individual needs of our very different institutions and addressing our problems from very distinctive perspectives. But after reviewing our activities of the last twenty-five years or so, even I was surprised at the sheer quantity of our joint efforts and the many little successes we have brought about. These are what I have chosen to emphasize. In spite of having to resort to broad generalities, I hope that I have been able to convey to you the dimensions of our activities and the interest, commitment, concern and affection that we feel toward our work and each other.

Reviews

R. H. Davis, Jr., *Slavic and Baltic Library Resources at The New York Public Library: A First History and Practical Guide*. New York: The New York Public Library; Los Angeles: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1994. xviii, 173 pp. Illustrations. ISBN 0871044382.

The Slavic and Baltic Division of The New York Public Library occupies a central place in the landscape of American Slavic studies, as Davis amply documents in this fine publication. It also played a key role in late imperial and early Soviet Russian librarianship. The works of L. B. Khavkina, one of the leaders of the library profession in Russia before and after the October Revolution who wrote extensively on American library practice in general and The New York Public Library in particular, exerted a great influence on the emerging profession. V. I. Lenin read these works, as well as the Library's annual report for 1911, which left such a lasting impression that he later coined the term 'Swiss-American system' (of library service) to express the ideal to which the Soviet library profession should aspire (his experience in Swiss libraries also impressed him favourably). NYPL staffers Avrahm Yarmolinsky and Harry Miller Lydenberg travelled to Russia in 1923–24 to buy books, and while there lectured at the Rumiantsev Museum Library (very shortly to become the State Lenin Library) to an enthusiastic audience of Russian librarians. At last library historians can begin to assess the influence of The New York Public Library on Russian and American libraries alike, using this 'first history' as their starting point.

Davis's history is chiefly a story of collection-building, with some reference to the Library's users, and deliberately relatively little discussion of the Division's internal organization and operation, or of key personnel. Three themes dominate the story. First and foremost, there is the pivotal role of the Russian, Baltic and East European emigration in the building of the collection, serving at once as producer, consumer, benefactor, donor, facilitator and vendor. Secondly, Davis chronicles the rise of Slavic studies in the U.S. as an academic discipline and relates the development of the Slavic and Baltic Division to this phenomenon. Thirdly, he documents the evolution of inter-institutional cooperative relations and collaboration with other great Slavic collections in the U.S., such as Harvard University, the Library of Congress, Columbia University, the Hoover Institution and Yale University, which proved vital to the Division's success from the outset. There are tantalizing references to other facets of the Library's history that Davis does not explore in depth, such as the steep decline in use of the Slavonic Division in the 1970s and 80s, and the rise and fall (and rise) of the Division's acquisition budget. Except for the

Chiefs, the Division's staff is mentioned only in passing, and, as Davis notes in his introduction, this topic richly deserves its own investigation. (One cannot look at illustration no. 6, depicting four female Slavonic Division staff members circa 1910, without wondering about the professional culture of librarianship at NYPL and its place in the larger sociocultural context.) These are but three of a whole host of issues that Davis poses for future research, and he has provided an excellent point of departure in his very extensive bibliographic apparatus.

Beyond the relatively small community of library historians, the larger audience for Davis's book are the scholars and researchers in Russian, Baltic and East European studies who plan to conduct research in the Library. For the Division's clientele, the volume is essential reading, providing explicit directions for gaining access to the Library's resources. Although Davis gives only capsule summaries of the collections and refers the reader to other publications for a more detailed overview, he deftly guides the prospective reader through the complicated web of bibliographic control of the Library's vast resources. Scholars will find the 'practical guide' to be a very convenient starting point for understanding the organization of materials within the Library and the reference tools that facilitate their discovery.

The text is beautifully written and illustrated. One might argue about the practice of relegating so much material to footnotes that might be integrated in the text to better effect. One certainly cannot argue, however, with Davis's meticulous documentation. For the reader's convenience, the captions for the excellent illustrations should have been placed below the individual illustrations themselves, rather than listed separately in the volume's prefatory matter.

Appended to the volume is a list of books and articles describing the Library's Russian, Baltic and East European resources; a list of the NYPL classmarks relating to the Slavic, Baltic and East European areas; a list of staff seminars held from 1984 to 1994; an incomplete list of exhibits mounted by the Division, 1932–1993; and a partial list of Division personnel.

MARY STUART

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Valeriia D. Stel'makh (ed.), *The Image of the Library: Studies and Views from Several Countries* (Collection of Papers). Haifa, University of Haifa Library, 1994. 125 pp. No price given.

Librarians the world over worry about the image of 'the library' and 'the librarian'. However, much of the published work has focused on the USA or on literature written in English. When IFLA's Round Table on Research in

Reading tackled this issue, it aimed to go beyond the familiar Anglo-American experience and disseminate research from a number of different countries and cultures. The papers in this book come from Russia, Hungary, France and Israel as well as the English-speaking world. All the papers are in English, although there are some mistakes in translation and several papers would have benefited from more rigorous editing.

The Hungarian contribution reports on two studies of the image of the library held by library members and non-users carried out in 1978 and 1985–86, and a separate questionnaire on the image of the librarian also carried out in 1985–86. What is particularly interesting about these studies is their comments on the relations between the political and ideological environment and popular perceptions of libraries and librarians (a paternalistic model). Ferenc Gereben looks forward to ‘a democratization of the image of librarianship and librarians: the propaganda and guidance function will give place to the serving, informative and socially helpful functions, and librarians will turn from the strict school-mistress into educated, empathetic, sometimes criticized but equal partners’.

There are four Russian contributions. Valeriia Stel'makh opens the collection with a perceptive discussion of why the image of the library matters, for society as a whole as well as for librarians. D. K. Ravinskii (National Library of Russia, St Petersburg) uses Russian literature from the 1960s and 1970s to establish the image of the librarian in the mind of the Soviet people. He is particularly interested in the idea of the library as a place where intellectuals might take refuge, but also be trapped. The article would have been improved by the provision of more detail about the books discussed—most are not readily available in English translation, and the brief allusions to works and characters are frustrating to those without specialist knowledge of the literature of the period. Marina Dubrovskaja of the Russian State Library conducted a survey of participants at the IFLA Conference in Moscow in August 1991, hoping ‘to reveal self-evaluations and self-images of those who represent the profession’. In the circumstances, it is surprising that she collected nearly one hundred completed responses; there are some revealing comments on libraries in Russia and Romania. In her second contribution, Stel'makh reports on the Russian State Library Sector of Sociology's study ‘What do Russians think about libraries?’. They used a similar approach to that employed by Hungarian sociologists of reading. Important features of their findings include the significant numbers of respondents who held an idealized view of the library as a temple, a guarantor of intellectual freedom, open to all, a place for broad intellectual communication. A small but significant group saw it as a refuge from the difficulties of everyday life, and about a quarter of respondents stressed the information role of the library. These findings confirm the high but largely symbolic status of reading and libraries in Russia. Stel'makh is concerned by

the gap between people's images of the library and the reality of the libraries they actually use, and the second survey (in 1992) demonstrates the extent of dissatisfaction with the actual services. Indeed, she asks whether the libraries inherited from the previous regime are worth keeping at all. Her conclusion is sobering: 'Right now there is no hope to lead the libraries out of the crises and bring them up to readers' expectations. But they have to be at least preserved as they are until the time when "the man with a gun" gives way to "the man with a book" '.

JENNY BRINE

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Slavic Studies: A Guide to Bibliographies, Encyclopaedias and Handbooks, compiled and edited by Murlin Croucher. Wilmington, Delaware, Scholarly Resources Inc., 1993. 2 vols. 986 pp. Author and title indexes. \$150.00.

The compiler of this bibliography of bibliographies and other reference works relating to Slavophone Europe cannot be accused of offering a lightweight contribution. The two volumes weigh over three kg. (they are printed, very sensibly, on 'permanent' paper and stoutly bound), and they occupy over eight cm. of quarto self-space. Between them they present the user with 5264 annotated entries (monographs and specialist journals only), covering, in addition to bibliographies *pur sang*, dictionaries (monoglot only), encyclopaedias, and 'handbooks', i.e. encyclopaedic works devoted to a single country. Murlin Croucher, who is the Slavic specialist at Indiana University Library, and the publishers deserve all credit for an undertaking that is unprecedented on such a scale.

The compiler is very properly a devotee of the *de visu* school of bibliography, using the Indiana University Library as a base (and including Indiana and, where necessary, other US library call-numbers), and has worked in Washington, Illinois and other US and European libraries, but not apparently in the former USSR. But the downside of the *de visu* approach, unless it is tempered by thorough bibliographical research, is sadly in evidence: the libraries visited evidently often possessed superseded editions—or no editions at all—of important reference sources. The compiler sensibly disclaims comprehensiveness, but some of the many omissions (occasionally relating to widely available works) and outdated entries seriously diminish user confidence. For example, the work's only predecessor in the genre, Walter Andreesen's incomparably more modest but excellent *Wie finde ich slawistische Literatur?* (Berlin, 1986), surely deserved inclusion. Other examples are, in the Czech and Slovak field, the inclusion of only two of Kotvan's more than a dozen incunabula cata-

logues; and in the Polish field, the *Drukarze dawnej Polski* and the *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi* are omitted. In the Russian field, Karataev and many other catalogues of early *cyrillica* are absent, as are Zverinskii (much fuller bibliographically than Denisov (3634)), and Savelov (the standard bibliography of Russian heraldry and genealogy). The Ukraine does badly with Zapasko-Isaievych, Maksymenko and Pelenskyi all absent, and the former Yugoslavia lacks standard works by Bošnjak and Medaković. Examples could be multiplied, but worst off are the Sorbs—completely ignored as far as one can judge. Furthermore, in a work that purports to be a guide, annotations must be full and accurate. Croucher's vary in judiciousness and amplitude, and regularly exclude, for example, current published extent (in the case of works in progress) and edition size (in the case of *malotirazhnye* editions).

In a work on this scale presentation of the material is of critical importance, and alas, its compiler has succumbed to the siren song of alphabetical arrangement in the shape of acceptance of a Library of Congress subject heading for each entry (within, of course, each of the seven major national divisions). Now, the alphabet is a good servant but a bad master, and the consequent scattering means that, for example, a guide to the archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in New York (2812) is entered in the Soviet Union division (which takes in all the former Union Republics and Autonomous Areas, including Belarus and Ukraine) under the heading 'Emigrés—Archive guide' without references under 'Archives' or 'Ukraine'. Moreover, any topic may appear within any of the seven major divisions. These range from 'Area Studies' through 'Bulgaria', etc., to 'Former Yugoslavia'; as a consequence, a user of the volumes interested in works on, say, heraldry is condemned to search in all seven divisions and, in the absence of a subject index, may still have the uncomfortable feeling that he or she has not exhausted the hidden riches of this mine of references. The historian of printing is in even worse case: he or she will have to search under three headings—to wit, 'Early printings', 'Imprints' and 'Incunabula'—in all seven national divisions, making twenty-one searches in all.

Murlin Croucher does not rule out a second edition 'with diacritics'. A thoroughly revised, augmented and corrected edition with classified arrangement and chronological order within sections, plus a subject index (in addition to existing author and title indexes), would convert a useful 'quarry' into a splendid reference tool for the Slavist.

JOHN S. G. SIMMONS

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N. A. Bogomolov, *Materialy k bibliografii russkikh literaturno-khudozhestvennykh al'manakhov i sbornikov, 1900–1937*, vol. 1. Moscow, Lanterna-Vita, 1994. 624 pp. Indexes. No price available.

This reference book is an extensive supplement to the four-volume bibliographical directory *Literaturno-khudozhestvennye al'manakhi i sborniki (1957–60)*, edited by O. D. Golubeva and N. P. Rogozhin, which was published under Communist censorship, and therefore contained many omissions dictated by political considerations. Bogomolov's 'additional' volume covers the same historical period (1900–37) and retains a similar structure. It contains 445 entries on literary almanacs and anthologies, arranged in chronological order and rendered alphabetically within each particular year. The bibliographical description and contents of the books are normally given in full, including not only the usual details (such as date and place of publication, publisher, price and print run), but even the names of the designers of the book and of the logo of the publisher, if available. The guide also includes indexes of authors and of anonymous works (described by their titles and/or first lines), as well as of the almanacs' titles and geographical locations.

Bogomolov's modest ambitions (he refers to his work as 'bibliographical materials', being only too aware of the fact that there is no such thing as a complete bibliography) should not mislead the reader. There is no doubt that this book, just like Golubeva's and Rogozhin's compendium, will be in constant use by everyone who deals with Russian literature of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. This formidable achievement by Bogomolov once again disproves the attitude, common to many scholars, that bibliographical studies are something which should be looked down upon. As for the book's occasional slip-ups (for instance, Moldanskaia on p. 122 (and in the index of authors) should be Iordanskaia; Nikolai Rerikh's memoir of Leonid Andreev on p. 147 was called 'Pamiati Leonida Andreeva', not just 'Pamiati Leonida'; the real name of V. Iretskii was Viktor Iakovlevich Glikman, etc.), they will be corrected in the second edition, which has already been promised. It would be splendid to see all five volumes of this joint bibliographical monument eventually recast, revised and republished. The current project was implemented under the auspices of the Russian Bibliographical Society (the book in question launched its principal series of publications, 'Studia Bibliographica') and as a result of the financial support of the British 'Signals Trust'.

ANDREI ROGACHEVSKII

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Deutschsprachige Drucke Moskauer und Petersburger Verlage 1731–1991. Aus den Beständen der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster. Ausstellungskatalog. Zusammengestellt, kommentiert und eingeleitet von Gottfried Kratz. Lüneburg, Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1995. 160 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Bibliography. Indexes. DM 36.00.

German-language publications have a particular place in the history of Russian and Soviet culture. In the eighteenth century, when publishing first became a major feature of Russian cultural life, much of it was centred around the German-dominated Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, and Russia's newly conquered, culturally German southern Baltic provinces provided a major contribution. Consequently German works predominated in the Empire's foreign-language titles 1701–1800: according to Gottfried Kratz's figures, all foreign titles (3,525) constituted 28.2%, German titles (2,218) 17.7% of the total. Data for the nineteenth century are fragmentary, but suggest that while the share of non-Russian titles remained about one quarter, that of German fell steadily away. In the twentieth century and the Soviet period, German-language books constituted a tiny fraction of a much larger total: they now reflected various separate factors—for example the early Soviet desire to encourage radical movements in Europe, or the post-Stalin appearance of an indigenous Soviet German belles lettres (the 1989 census registered over two million Soviet Germans). For the whole period covered Kratz extrapolates an estimated 47,348 German-language titles. The Münster University and *Land* Library's holdings are based on several collections acquired in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; searches have so far revealed 662 titles, of which 235 (35.4%) were published in the two Russian capitals. The exhibition of which this is the catalogue presented 133 titles. In view of the exhibition title, it is curious that the first 28 items are either in other European languages, or published in other places: no rationale is given. The remainder address a wide range of material, divided here into eight subject areas. Entries are admirably full, often including excerpts from editorial and illustrative matter from the work itself, and together give a good impression of the diversity of interest covered by German publications within the Russian and Soviet empires. There is also some interesting detail on otherwise little-known areas, for example one page and three illustrations for a book from the State Publishing House of the Volga German Republic (no. 20). The bibliography includes 276 reference items and sources. Overall, however, the book is a disappointment. The extensive introduction (pp. 1–48) is primarily concerned, in a deluge of inevitably not very reliable statistics, to place German-language publishing as a whole within the broad Russian/Soviet context, and secondly to explain how the Münster Library acquired its holdings. Rather little attention is given to the actual presses, some of them very significant, which produced

the publications. Their particular profiles and roles are scarcely brought out, while the acquisition history of Münster's collection necessarily gives a somewhat random character to the sample. Nevertheless, the catalogue does offer a positive if modest contribution to the history of Imperial Russian/Soviet culture, and to the current scholarly interest in Russian/Soviet German history and literature.

ROGER BARTLETT

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Geoffrey Arnold (comp.), *Short-Title Catalogue of Hungarian Books Printed before 1851 in the British Library*. London, The British Library, 1995. 295 pp. Indexes. £60.00.

The present bibliography comes as a great help to all students of Hungarian literature and cultural history. The old Hungarian collection of the British Library is amongst the best collections of its kind in Western Europe. While the majority of its holdings were printed in the nineteenth century, there is a substantial corpus of books and tracts printed earlier, the number of pre-1711 books exceeding two hundred. As the compiler, Geoffrey Arnold, explains in the Introduction, this bibliography lists all books printed in 'historical' Hungary (that is, the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary before the post-First World War treaties) as well as all books published abroad which have a significant element of Hungarian in them. In the Appendix a list of Hungarian books is printed which had been in the British Library before the last war but were destroyed as a result of bombing raids. This is a particularly useful list, for many, if not all, of these books appear in the large printed catalogue of the Main Reading Room without any indication of their destruction.

Some of the books listed in this bibliography are unique copies (editio facsimile), for example the 1578 edition of *Szép históriás ének az Telamon királyról* ... and the Protestant tract printed in 1580/1581 *Az életnec kutfeie*. Another rarity is Peter Huszti's verse translation of the Aeneid (the 1582 Debrecen edition). It is here that one has to mention the lack of cross-references, e.g. the translation of Vergil's epic is listed only under 'Virgilius, Maro Publius' and not under the name of the translator. This is particularly unsatisfactory in such cases as the works of György Kulcsár and Miklós Telegdi, which are both listed under the heading 'Bible' but are in fact biblical commentaries rather than translations.

While the bibliography was compiled with obvious care, there are still some minor omissions. The *Short-Title Catalogue* fails to list György Csipkés Komáromi's Wollebius translation (published in Utrecht, 1653), as well as

György Kalmár's *Prodromus* (Pozsony, 1770), of which the Library holds two copies. Also, the first name of Pósaquí (p. 211), author of *Igazság istápjá*, is János, not Lajos. The Appendix needs to be corrected, too: one book by the Transylvanian bishop István Katona Gelei listed here as missing (destroyed in the last war) is in fact on the shelves of the Library (shelfmark 4224.bb.6).

Of the five indexes I have found Index II the most useful—it gives a list of books according to the place of publication. From here it transpires what an important role in Hungarian book-publishing was played by the printing shops of such towns as Kassa (now Košice), Kolozsvár (now Cluj), Nagyszombat (now Tirnava), Nagyvárad (now Oradea), and Pozsony (now Bratislava). This *Short-Title Catalogue* uses Hungarian place-names (giving in brackets the present name and country), and rightly so. After all, there are no books in the pre-1851 collection of the British Library published under the place-name 'Cluj' (apart from the Hungarian 'Kolozsvár' occasionally Klausenburg and Claudiopolis are used). A small point, perhaps, but it tells you a lot about Hungarian—and, incidentally, Romanian—history.

GEORGE GÖMÖRI

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Z. Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, *Starowiercy w Polsce i ich księgi*. Rozprawy i materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, No. 145, Olsztyn, 1995. 206 pp.

Dr Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew's study opens with a brief introduction giving a history of the rise of Old Belief, followed in Chapter One by a history of the Old Believers within the Polish State. Here details are given of the number of Old Believers between 1835 and 1862 and their churches, in particular, in the province of Suwałki, and the data are supported by first-hand observations based on work conducted in the last decade in the region of Suwałki, Wodзилki, Gabowe Grądy and Wojnowo. Documents from the Lithuanian State Archive in Vilnius have also provided new information about the religious and social life of the Old Believers of Suwałki and Sejny regions between 1862 and 1918.

The Pomor'e Old Believer Church of Poland (Naczelna Rada Staroprawosławnej Pomorskiej Cerkwi w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) in 1994 numbered some 952 followers, dispersed over 48 different localities, especially in Suwałki, who had preserved their religious and national traditions. Despite a renewal of their religious and social practices during the 1980s Dr Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew notes a gradual assimilation of their number into the local community owing to local conditions and social changes.

Chapter Two deals with the history and specific characteristics of book production by the Old Believers, and draws its conclusions from a detailed

programme of work carried out on editions found in the libraries of Poland, Russia and Ukraine. It also contains an extensive bibliography. Old Believer books were printed in Mogilev (1701–05, 1733–73), in the printing presses of the Uniate monasteries in Vilnius (1767–1800), in Suprasl (1777–91), in Pochaev (1782–95), in the Grodno press founded by Antoni of Tyzenhauz (1781–92) and by Piotr Dufour in Warsaw (1785–88 and possibly 1798). 150 editions were commissioned by Old Believers and printed in these localities, including reprints of pre-Nikonian books of the period of Patriarch Iosif, and also texts compiled and written by the Old Believers themselves, which were deemed necessary for conducting the divine service, explaining the history of the struggle for the Old Faith and polemics with the official church. The output of the Old Believer printing press in Pisz (Jańsbork) in East Prussia, founded by the head of the Wojnowo monastery, Pavel Prusskii (Lednev), and which operated from 1860 to 1867 under the guidance of monk Konstantin Efimovich Golubov, was similar. From 1925 to 1937 printing activity was carried on also by the Supreme Old Believer Council of Poland (*Naczelna Rada Staroobrzędowców w Polsce*) in Vilnius.

Chapter Three surveys the results of an investigation of books found among Polish Old Believers in which 29 private collections from twelve localities in the Suwałki, Sejny and Mazura regions (Suwałki, Sejny, Wodziłki, Holny Wolmera, Avgustów, Gabowe Grądy, Wojnowo, Gałkowo, Osiniak, Ruciane-Nida, Elk and Mrągowo) and 140 books, including 22 manuscript books and 26 early-printed books of Mrągowo and Olsztyn, are described. The holdings of churches in Suwałki, Wojnowo and Wodziłki, as well as the convent in Wodziłki, are also investigated, and total some 67 books, of which 15 are manuscript books and 12 are early-printed books.

The work has four appendices listing the books examined and a bibliography, and two maps, one of which unfortunately is not clearly reproduced and therefore difficult to read (p. 51).

However, this is not to detract from Dr Jaroszewicz-Piereslawcew's important and thorough investigation of the very special role that books played in the life of the Old Believers. Her valuable study employs much new material from archives in Warsaw, Olsztyn and Vilnius, and will remain essential reading for scholars interested in this aspect of Old Believer research.

JOHN SULLIVAN

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Notes

Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Slavic Librarians and Information Specialists (Przegorzały, Cracow, 3–5 August 1995)

An English edition of the proceedings has been published as:

Libraries in Europe's Post-Communist Countries: Their International Context, edited by Maria Kocójowa & Wojciech Zalewski. Cracow, Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne, Oddział w Krakowie, 1996. 290 pp. (Materiały Edukacyjne z Bibliotekoznawstwa i Informacji Naukowej, n. 5.) ISBN 83-901577-7-2.

The publication was sponsored by IREX, and each participant at the conference is entitled to one free copy. Further copies may be ordered from:

Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne
Oddział w Krakowie
ul. Gołębia 16
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A Polish edition has also been published:

Biblioteki w europejskich krajach postkomunistycznych w międzynarodowym kontekście. (Wybór materiałów.) Redakcja Maria Kocójowa. Cracow, Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne, Oddział w Krakowie, 1995.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PEOPLES, STATES AND SOCIETY on 35 mm microfilm

This collection forms a unique body of primary research materials on the history and culture of the Yugoslav peoples. There are more than 2,000 titles, most in Serbo-Croatian, published between the late 18th century and the early 1960s. The collection contains pamphlets and short monographs, which as an organized corpus of research material, are not available elsewhere, including Yugoslavia. The collection spans the medieval period through World War II and ranges from scholarly studies to essays, reminiscences and commentaries by some of the participants in the events which reflect the turbulent history of the lands which until recently comprised Yugoslavia.

The major categories in this collection are:

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